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AN APPEAL
TO
COMMON SENSE AND COMMON JUSTICE ;
OR,
IRREFRAGABLE FACTS
OPPOSED TO
PLAUSIBLE THEORIES:

Intended to prove the extreme injustice, as well as the utter
impolicy, of the existing tariff.

ILLUSTRATED BY

*A sketch of the policy and situation of England, France,
and Holland.*

BY M. CAREY.

THIRD EDITION IMPROVED.

“ Our fast sailing ships which traverse the ocean ; our steam-boats which ascend our magnificent and rapid rivers ; our improved roads and canals of interior communication—all of which were devised for our peculiar benefit, are at present employed principally to aid our rivals, and to transport commodities into the central regions of this great continent, which check every effort of profitable industry, and blast every germ of patriotic enterprise.”—Gov WOLCOTT.

“ Our country can no longer boast of the trade she once enjoyed. In our eastern cities, commerce has declined apace, real estate has suffered a depreciation, commodities have fallen in value ; while industry, no longer finding its former employment, languishes without reward. In our western country, the value of land has experienced a great decline : its produce remains unpurchased, and a depreciated currency is spreading its destructive influence, and laying the foundation for permanent distress.”—*New York Literary and Scientific Repository*, July, 1821.

“ Men will sooner live prosperously under the worst government, than starve under the best.”—POSTLETHWAITE.

PHILADELPHIA :

PUBLISHED BY H. C. CAREY & I. LEA.

April 2, 1822.

I most earnestly request the cultivators of the soil, whose hands this may reach, to ponder well on the annexed admonitions, drawn from the most unexceptionable sources, and pointing out their true interests with "a pencil of light." First in order is Adam Smith, who, in these few lines, has subverted nearly the whole of his own theory.

"*Whatever tends to diminish in any country, the number of artificers and manufacturers, tends to diminish the home market, the most important of all markets for the rude produce of the land, and thereby still further to discourage agriculture.*"—Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, vol. 2. p. 149.

"The uniform appearance of an abundance of specie, as the concomitant of a flourishing state of manufactures, and of the reverse, where they do not prevail, afford a strong presumption of their favourable operation on the wealth of a country."—A. Hamilton.

"The restrictive regulations which in foreign markets *abridge the vent for the increasing surplus of our agricultural products*, serve to beget an earnest desire, that a more extensive demand for that surplus be created at home.—Hamilton.

"If Europe will not take from us the products of our soil, on terms consistent with our interest, *the natural remedy is to contract as fast as possible our wants of her.*"—Idem.

"In vain do we discover that the earth is capable of producing the most luxuriant harvests with very little labour. Our abundant harvests are produced as undeniable proofs of this in vain: But place a manufacturer in the neighbourhood, who will buy every little article that the farmer can bring to market, and he will soon become industrious. The most barren fields will then become covered with some useful produce."—Anderson on National Industry. Page 62.

"Considering how fast and how much the progress of new settlements in the United States must increase the surplus produce of the soil, and weighing seriously the tendency of the system, which prevails among most of the commercial nations of Europe, whatever dependence may be placed on the force of natural circumstances to counteract the effects of an artificial policy; *there appear strong reasons to regard the foreign demand for that surplus, as too uncertain a reliance, and to desire a substitute for it in an extensive domestic market.*

"To secure such a market, *there is no other expedient, than to promote manufacturing establishments.* Manufacturers, who constitute the most numerous class, after the cultivators of the land, are for that reason the principal consumers of the surplus of their labour.

"It merits particular observation, that *the multiplication of manufactories not only furnishes a market for those articles which have been accustomed to be produced in abundance, in a country; but it likewise creates a demand for such as were either unknown or produced in inconsiderable quantities.* The bowels as well as the surface of the earth are ransacked for articles which were before neglected. Animals, plants, and minerals acquire a utility and value, which were before unexplored.

"The foregoing considerations seem sufficient to establish as general propositions, that it is the interest of nations to diversify the industrious pursuits of the individuals who compose them—that *the establishment of manufactures is calculated not only to increase the general stock of useful and productive labour, but even to improve the state of agriculture in particular, certainly to advance the interests of those who are engaged in it.*"—Alexander Hamilton, vol. 1. p. 182.

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PREFACE.

WERE any apology necessary for once more trespassing on the public attention, upon the subject of affording protection to that important portion of the national industry, devoted to manufactures, in which are employed nearly one fourth part of the white population of the eleven states north of Virginia, and above one seventh part of the whole population of the union, black and white, an adequate one would be found in the still unsettled state of the public mind respecting it—the total absence of any measure calculated for attaining that grand object*—and its immense importance to the present and future happiness and prosperity of this mighty and rising empire.

When the public distress called general attention to this subject in 1819, the disciples of the Hamiltonian†

* How pointed, but how just the censure of the withering and callous indifference towards the public distress, displayed by congress, in the years 1816, 17, 18, 19 and 20, conveyed in the following remarks, extracted from a late message of Governor Adair, to the legislature of Kentucky! It is not certain that it was intended for them—but, had they sat for it, the portrait could not have been truer to nature.

“Epochs of severe pecuniary distress will sometimes occur in all countries. Such an one at this moment exists, and its effects are commensurate with the commercial world. *In such a crisis is it for legislative assemblies to witness in silence the general wreck of private independence and public prosperity, and supinely await the slow growth and dubious result of a new order of things, or avert the impending evils by appropriate and decisive remedies?*” Who can try the conduct of congress by this just test, and not deeply feel for the honour of his country?

† This is the proper title of the school of political economists, who advocate that system of protecting national industry, which has raised England so high in the rank of nations,

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school of political economy, were every where a very small minority—perhaps not more than one in twenty of our citizens generally. In the opposite school, that of Adam Smith, and his disciples, was enrolled in every quarter a most overwhelming majority. But the pressure of the times, arising from an utter neglect of the Hamiltonian doctrines—the intrinsic and irrefragable soundness of those doctrines—together with the unceasing investigation of the subject by writers in every part of the United States, have made proselytes to an extent beyond the most sanguine calculation. And entire sections of the country, formerly hostile to these doctrines, are now numbered among their most zealous supporters.

It is gratifying to find that several of the governors of the individual states, have come boldly forward in support of the necessity of abridging the consumption of foreign, and encouraging that of domestic manufactures. Such countenance cannot fail to have great weight and influence with a public, given to reflexion, and among whom opinion is as free as air.

and rescued France from the tissue of calamities inflicted on her by the ambition of her rulers during her revolutionary wars, and her subjugation after the downfall of Bonaparte; in opposition to those who hold that "*trade will regulate itself*," although they are constantly calling for regulations in favour of commerce; and that nations "ought to buy merchandise wherever they can purchase it cheapest," although it produces the consequence, according to Adam Smith, of "*depriving many thousands of people* of their ordinary employment and means of subsistence." Mr. Hamilton studied the systems of Colbert, Sully and all the old writers—and has embodied the whole substance of them in his invaluable report.

It may be boldly said, and the declaration will stand the test of critical examination, that a more valuable system of rules for promoting the prosperity of nations, never existed. It will be an eternal monument to the fame of its author, who might well have said, when he published it—

"Jamque opus exegi; quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignes,
"Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas."

“An increased degree of industry and economy, with an increasing disposition to *substitute the productions and manufactures of our own for those of foreign countries*, afford a brighter prospect; and *if the spirit of the people be wisely sustained by the government*, it cannot fail to overcome every remaining obstacle.”—Message of Samuel Bell, Esq. Governor of New Hampshire.

“A determination on the part of the people to promote agriculture and domestic or household manufactures, and to *lessen the consumption of foreign goods of every description*, will soon relieve the community from the pressure.”—Speech of William Carroll, Esq. Governor of Tennessee.

“If the encouragement of American manufactures should have the effect greatly to increase, not the profits, but the number of manufacturers and manufacturing establishments, and thereby produce a competition which does not exist—*to measureably change the course of agricultural pursuits, now so unprofitable, by inviting the growth of, and furnishing a home market for, raw materials, and also a market for that surplus produce which has heretofore been exported*, and to secure among us a specie currency, there can be no doubt of its wisdom and justice.”—Speech of Richard Skinner, Esq. Governor of Vermont.

“There is now no independent civil nation but ourselves which has not become *awakened to the necessity of protecting its internal industry*: from the Baltic to the Mediterranean the effort is universal: and we cannot with impunity disregard the admonitions which their examples inculcate. *A comparison between the condition of France and this country will illustrate the difference between wise and inefficient systems of political economy*. For more than twenty-five years France was harassed by desolating wars, and within five years she was oppressed by foreign armies, excited to acts of extortion by vindictive resentment. *Now she supports a circulating medium in gold and silver coins; her agriculture, arts and manufactures are flourishing; her commerce is reviving; and both excite the jealousy of her neighbours and rivals; her revenue exceeds her expenditures, and her taxes are diminishing*.

“Excepting the short period of the last war, we have enjoyed peace, [for nearly 30 years] and for most of the time have supposed ourselves to be prosperous; but *the acquisitions of which we have boasted for 20 years, are vanished*, or are invested in unproductive property, which is daily diminishing in value. *Our industry is becoming languid*, our currency consists of notes which are representatives of our debts due to banks. Even usury is less profitable than heretofore. Our national debt exceeds what it did when the present government was first organized, including the debt of the revolutionary war, and the state

“debts which were then assumed; while our revenue is unequal to our annual expenses, on the most reduced establishment which we can make.”—Message of Oliver Wolcott, Esq. Governor of Connecticut.

“The excess of the products of the soil beyond the consumption of the agricultural interest, *must either find a sale in the home, and the foreign markets*, or be lost to the proprietors. *To rely on foreign markets is to expose ourselves to the caprice of foreign policy, and to commit primary interests to the guardianship of rival nations.* We therefore must consult the substantial and permanent prosperity of agriculture, by *providing for the domestic consumption of its productions*; and this can only be accomplished by the dense population of our manufacturing towns, and populous cities. And it is indeed highly satisfactory to witness the growing prosperity of the manufacturing interest, after the blow which it received on the termination of the late war. *In its fabrics, its consumptions, and all its operations, it stimulates agricultural industry, by purchasing its productions, and administering to its accommodations.*”—Message of De Witt Clinton, Esq. Governor of New York.

“The limited demand for, and consequent low prices of, our agricultural products in foreign markets, cannot fail to suggest *the necessity, as well as the policy, of promoting domestic manufactures, which, if properly encouraged, would secure a sufficient home market for all our surplus produce.* Whatever may be expected from legislative enactments, whether by the national or state governments, in aid of domestic industry, no less is to be hoped from the influence of examples that shall *tend to eradicate the prejudices and unnatural predilections of those who prefer to encourage the industry of Europe and Asia, to that of their own country.*”—Message of Joseph Hiester, Esq. Governor of Pennsylvania, Dec. 7, 1820.

The President of the United States has appeared in the lists on the same side of the question, but not quite so decidedly. His sentiments, however, admit of no other explanation, than is analogous to those of the governors. For can any reason be offered in support of an object, more cogent than the one he gives in favour of *“the increase of domestic manufactures,”* that thereby the *“dependence of the several parts of the union on each other, and the strength of the union will be proportionally increased?”*

“It cannot be doubted, that the more complete our internal resources, and the less dependent we are on foreign powers,

“for every national as well as domestic purpose, the greater and more stable will be the public felicity.

“By the increase of domestic manufactures will the demand for the rude materials at home be increased: and thus will the dependence of the several parts of the union on each other, and the strength of the union, be proportionally augmented.”—President’s Message, December 20, 1821.

The secretary of the treasury, too, has added the high sanction of his official station to the Hamiltonian theory, as may be seen, page 88.

There is, however, a formidable phalanx in congress, who are still hostile to it, and who may perhaps procrastinate for a season, the adoption of any efficient measures predicated on it. But it can scarcely be doubted, that they will ultimately, and at no very distant day, yield to the force of public opinion. And short as is my probable tenure of life, I indulge the fond hope of beholding established here a permanent system, similar to that which has repaired the losses, healed the wounds, and not only restored, but greatly magnified the prosperity of France, and enabled England to decide the destinies of half the globe—the antipodes of what we have “felt,” and what Holland, to borrow a figure from Mr. Cambreleng, “feels in every limb.”

The progress that has been made is highly encouraging, particularly when we consider the formidable array of hostile names, among which are to be reckoned some of the most celebrated in Europe—Adam Smith, Say, Ricardo, Sismondi, &c. &c.

It required about thirty years to arrest the career of the accursed slave trade, one of the foulest disgraces of the human race, notwithstanding its glaring and flagrant atrocity, and notwithstanding the united efforts of hundreds of the wisest and best men of the last and present century. Compared with this slow progress, the spread of these opinions, is truly surprising.

Powerful auxiliaries have recently enlisted themselves among the opponents of the theory of Adam

Smith. I mean the Editors of the Quarterly Review, who, in the forty-eighth number, have, in a most masterly and unanswerable essay, utterly demolished the basis on which that theory rests—that is, the facility with which talents and capital can transfer themselves from one branch of industry to another, which the doctor calls “*a collateral branch.*” This is the keystone on which the whole strength of the edifice rests.

The burden of Dr. Smith’s great work is the immense advantage to be derived from free and unrestrained trade, which is to produce a millennium in trade and commerce. But he admits, what is obvious enough, that “were those high duties and prohibitions taken away at once, cheaper foreign goods of the same kind might be poured so fast into the home market, as to deprive at once many thousands of people of their ordinary employment and means of subsistence.”*

The qualifying “*at once*” answers little purpose; for whether they are removed “at once,” or gradually, the effect is ultimately the same, to supersede domestic industry. There is only the difference that exists between the operation of slow and violent poisons.

For this most serious evil, he has provided what he calls a remedy, of the efficacy of which a moderate capacity can judge. “To the greater part of manufactures,” he says, “there are other *collateral manufactures* of so familiar a nature, that a workman can easily transfer his industry from one to the other.” And further---“*the capital of the country being the same, the demand for labour will be the same, though it may be exerted in different places and for different occupations.*”

Over this fanciful theory, the Quarterly Review has gained a complete triumph, and put it down for ever by a train of irresistible reasoning, a master-piece of eloquence. And surely the most ardent admirer of Dr. Smith’s theory, in his utmost glow of enthusiasm on the subject, will admit, if “*many thousands of peo-*

* Wealth of Nations, vol. I. p. 328.

ple" are "*deprived of their ordinary employment and means of subsistence,*" whether "*at once,*" or in any given time, "*by pouring cheaper goods of the same kinds into the home market,*" that the advantage of introducing "*cheaper goods,*" even if these "*collateral manufactures*" can be found, is very problematical. But if there are no such "*collateral manufactures,*" then the introduction of the "*cheaper goods*" is a Pandora's Box, fraught with curses to the community in which the theory is carried into operation.

For the satisfaction of such readers as may have neither leisure nor inclination to peruse the whole of this elaborate review, I submit a few extracts, which display its spirit and cogency.

"The transition from one description of labour to another, would not be easy. *A man accustomed for a number of years to one particular kind of work, cannot readily pass over to another altogether different* Persons, especially of the class of life of artizans and labourers, are slow to form and slow to change their habits. *The skill which they tardily acquire, they tenaciously adhere to.* A farmer's labourer will not readily become a mechanic; a silk weaver be made a cutler; a lace maker, or glover be converted into a maker of woollens.

"Not only would a change of occupation be requisite, but also of the seat of industry. The Norfolk farming labourer might have to make hose in Leicester or Nottingham; the East Lothian cottager to weave muslins at Glasgow, or checks at Carlisle; and the Spitalfield's weaver to become a japanner at Birmingham, or cotton spinner at Manchester. *Whole districts of Ireland might have to interchange residence with those of England and Scotland, the north with the south, and the east with the west, with the rapidity of a horde of Tartars.* There must be a transference of the disengaged people to the seats of retained manufacture, or the retained manufacture must extend to their residence. The latter is scarcely practicable, when the convenience or necessity is considered of concentration, in manufacturing industry, of the several connected processes and branches."*

* Quarterly Review, No. 48, page 285.

It may be strongly doubted whether the world has ever witnessed a more signal overthrow of any plausible error, than the preceding paragraphs exhibit.

Our experience in 1784, 85, 86 and 87, seals the condemnation of this theory. "Cheaper goods" were imported than we could make. Many "thousands of our citizens" were "at once deprived of their ordinary employment and means of subsistence," and devoted to idleness and pauperism, and exposed to the seductions of vice and guilt. There were none of those "collateral manufactures" to which they could "transfer their industry." And although "*the capital of the country remained the same,*" surely no man will have the hardihood to assert that "*the demand for labour was the same.*"

Our recent experience equally establishes the pernicious consequences of the system. A large portion of capital employed in the manufactures which have been destroyed, was annihilated—but there was still a vast superabundance of capital in the country, for which employment could not be had—yet "the demand for labour" was so far from being "the same," that myriads of citizens were destitute of employment throughout the nation in 1817, 1818, and 1819, particularly in the latter year.

On the subject of protecting the national manufactures, a mighty and pernicious error prevails. It is almost universally believed, that the struggle has been to confer on the manufacturers the protection and patronage of the government, at the expense of the rest of the community, and without a shadow of reciprocity. Nothing can be farther from the truth than this idea, which ought to be scouted off the face of the earth. The true questions are, whether the agriculturists and merchants, having for thirty years had, and still having, the legislation in their own hands,

and having protected themselves by every conceivable means, shall not impart a portion of that protection to their brethren? And whether, for instance, the cotton planters protected by duties from 33 to 40 per cent.—the sugar planters by duties about 100 per cent.*---the tobacco planters, secured from foreign rivalry in the exclusive possession of the domestic market, by duties absolutely prohibitory, on snuff and manufactured tobacco, shall not, from motives of shame or justice, cease to oppose a protection of 33 1-3 to the manufacturers of chintzes and woollen cloths, 25 per cent. to the manufacturers of iron, steel, copper, brass, lead, linens, &c. &c.

To originality this pamphlet professes little, and to elegance of style, or beauty of arrangement, no claim. On the topics herein discussed, the writer has within the last three years published seven or eight pamphlets; of course there must unavoidably be much repetition.

* In the former edition, the duty on muscovado sugar was quoted at 40 to 66 per cent. as stated in the "New and Old Tariffs compared." This was an error, which subsequent information has enabled me to correct. Muscovado sugar was not quite three cents per lb. at the Havanna, January 20, 1822. Of course the duty, three cents, is about one hundred per cent. And it thus appears, that the sugar planters, who aided to vote down a duty of only thirty-three per cent. for the protection of their unrepresented fellow citizens, engaged in the manufacture of woollen and fine cotton goods, are themselves protected by a duty of one hundred per cent. on a necessary of life, of which the freight and other charges are about fifty per cent. For the honour of human nature, it is to be regretted that such a monstrous fact is matter of record.

Muscovado sugar presents one other view of the tariff, not very creditable to its framers or advocates. The qualities of this article vary very much; some of the inferior kinds being sold at two cents and a half per lb.—others at three—and superior qualities at four and five. The inferior kinds are used exclusively by the poor—the superior in coffee by the middle and wealthy classes. But all are subject to the same unvarying duty. The poor therefore pay 120 per cent—while the middle and higher classes pay but 60, 75, or 100! Comment on such a system is wholly superfluous.

And of such subjects it may be truly said—*res negat ornari—contenta doceri*. Elaboration of style, or fastidiousness of arrangement would be misplaced. My reliance is wholly on strong facts and plain deductions.

February 4, 1822.

Preface to the Second Edition.

IN this edition sundry additions and improvements are made, some of considerable importance.

Further features are given of the calamitous state of Holland, from which it appears that her "breweries and distilleries have been immensely diminished" --that her important "manufacture of laces has been almost entirely annihilated;" and that the deficit of her revenue for 1818 and 1819, was 11,256,000 florins, equal to about \$4,560,000.

More recent views are also given of the prosperous state of France, from the recent report of the minister of finances.

To facilitate reference to the facts herein contained, which may be useful in future investigations of the subject, a copious index is added to the present edition.

March 8, 1822.

Preface to the Third Edition.

The corrections and alterations in this edition are but few. I have, on further reflection and inquiry, been induced to assume our foreign commercial debt to be 12,000,000 of dollars, instead of 7,500,000, as in the former editions.

April 2, 1822.

AN APPEAL, &c.

CHAPTER I,

Advantages of retrospective reviews.—Distresses of 1817, 18, 19, and 20, particularly in Pennsylvania. Withering and most culpable disregard of the public suffering by congress. Present revival of manufactures. Prosperity of the manufacture of coarse cottons. Egregious error of a committee of congress. Distressed situation of the western part of New York. Testimony of the secretary of the treasury.

Friends and Fellow Citizens,

IN private life, it is found salutary frequently to review our past conduct with care and attention, in order to ascertain how far it has been regulated by wisdom, or been under the guidance of folly or error; so that we may be encouraged to persevere in the right path, or shape our course from a sinister one, as the case may require.

Such a procedure is equally useful in public affairs; in which folly and error as frequently predominate as in those of individuals. If honestly and

fairly pursued, with the attention its importance demands, the enquiry can never fail to be eminently beneficial. The neglect of it is one of the chief reasons why nations and individuals so frequently blunder on from one folly to another, to the ruin of their prosperity and reputation.

At the present moment a review of this kind is peculiarly requisite. We have enjoyed peace for above seven years, after a war of very short duration, closed with honour and in prosperous circumstances. We had every reason to expect as high a degree of prosperity, as ever fell to the lot of any nation. But, that peace has not brought in its train those blessings and that prosperity with which we flattered ourselves it would be accompanied, is a truth beyond controversy. During a large portion of its existence, particularly in 1817, 18, 1819, and 1820, we experienced a degree of distress and suffering which could not be exceeded by the calamities of war, and which in some parts of the union equalled what is felt in any portion of the civilized world. This will not appear extravagant to any one who reads the documents submitted to the legislature of Pennsylvania in 1819-20, by committees appointed to investigate the cause of the then existing distress. To save the reader the trouble of research, I annex a few of their features.

“ Forced sales of merchandize, household goods, farming stock, and utensils, at prices far below the cost of production, by which *numerous families have been deprived of the common necessities of life*, and of the implements of their trade.

“ A general suspension of labour, the only legitimate source of wealth, by which *thousands of our most useful citizens are rendered destitute of the means of support, and are reduced to the extremity of misery and despair.*

“ *Ruinous sacrifices of landed property at sheriffs’ sales, whereby in many cases lands and houses have been sold at less than a half, a third, or a fourth part of their former value, thereby depriving of their homes and the fruits of laborious years, a vast number of industrious*

“farmers, some of whom have been driven to seek, in the uncultivated forests of the west, that shelter of which they have been deprived in their native state.

“An almost entire cessation of the usual circulation of commodities, and a consequent stagnation of business, which is limited to the mere purchase and sale of the necessities of life, and of such articles of consumption as are absolutely required by the season.

“A universal suspension of all large manufacturing operations, by which, in addition to the dismissal of the numerous productive labourers heretofore employed therein, the public loses the revenue of the capital invested in machinery and buildings.

“The overflowing of our prisons with insolvent debtors, most of whom are confined for small sums, whereby the community loses a portion of its active labour, and is compelled to support families by charity, who have thus been deprived of their protectors.”

This deplorable situation of affairs, in a great state containing a million of industrious, energetic inhabitants, will bear eternal record against the unsoundness of the policy we have pursued, by which the interests of the grain-growing states are most cruelly sacrificed. Their grand staple has been reduced in price, so low as, in many cases, not to afford a remuneration to the farmers, in consequence of being excluded from consumption in England, France, Spain and Portugal, from the two first of which they receive manufactures, to the value of millions of dollars annually, which they are not allowed to pay for in the only article produced in sufficient abundance to equal their amount. They are precluded by their federal duties and obligations from retaliating prohibition by prohibition, as is dictated by every principle of justice. They are thus offered up as victims to a policy, which has strewn desolation and destruction among their citizens, blasted the prospects of thousands of them, and defeated the effect of the blessings so lavishly bestowed on them by bountiful nature.

Some of our manufactures have received a deadly

wound, from which they have not revived, and, without a change of policy, never will.‡ The farmers have recently suffered equally with the manufacturers. The embarrassments of the purchasers of the public lands have been so great, and their inability to discharge the remaining instalments so manifest, that government found it expedient to receive back the lands, and release a number of the debtors from their engagements. The revenue, which, in 1816, amounted to \$36,306,874, was, in 1820, reduced to 15,005,612 dollars. Commerce has languished in an equal degree with manufactures and agriculture. To complete the melancholy picture, I will add a brief sketch from the report of the committee on manufactures.—“ In profound peace, without any national calamity, *the country became embarrassed with debts—real estate was under a rapid depreciation—the markets of agriculture and pursuits of manufactures were diminished and declining—and commerce was struggling not to retain the carrying the produce of other countries, but our own. There was no national interest in a healthful, thriving condition.* The nation at large was not so. The operations of government and of individuals alike laboured under difficulties, which were felt by all.”

It is very true, however, that our prospects are brightening, and that there is every reason to hope, the worst is past. Some of our manufactures, parti-

‡ The potteries of the United States, were nearly all laid prostrate in 1816 and 1817, by the influx of foreign ware. There were four extensive ones in this city, which have never been resumed. An invaluable manufactory of screws, the machinery of which reflected honour on the inventor and on his country, and which might be made a source of great national wealth, has been recently sold for 8000 dollars, although it cost 24,000; so that instead of gaining wealth by the invention, it swept away the fruits of the hard and honourable industry of years. Such has been the case with a great variety of other manufactures, without exciting the least concern at Washington.

cularly the woollens and coarse cottons, are recovering—the former slowly—the latter very rapidly. Others are “dragging their slow length along,” and promise gradually to revive.

We have suffered the paroxysms of a most violent fever—and have been greatly exhausted—but are now in a state of convalescence—not, however, from any effort on the part of the government—for, however painful the statement may be, and however discreditable to congress, whose sacred and paramount duty it was to apply, or at least to endeavour to apply, a remedy to this disordered state of affairs, it is a most melancholy truth, that they never adopted any measure whatever to effect this grand object. They looked with the most withering indifference on the general distress, which, for so many years, continued with extraordinary intensity. No committee was ever appointed to take into consideration the state of the nation, and point out any remedial measure. The patient, writhing in agony, was unfeelingly abandoned by his physician, and the disorder left to take its course. Fortunately—but no thanks to the doctor—the *vis medicatrix naturæ* prevailed.

Although the change in our situation is very consoling, its magnitude and importance are greatly overrated. There is as much felicitation and exultation as if we had attained the high degree of prosperity which a wise system of policy could not fail to insure us. That we have not only ceased to retrograde, but that we are making advances, is undoubtedly true. But that, except in the single article of coarse cottons, we advance slowly, is equally true. And it would not be very extraordinary, from the present state of the exchange on England, if we should be once more drained of our specie, and again make retrograde movements.

We are now in the situation of the crew of a vessel at sea, caught wholly unprepared in a sudden storm,

in which she has received severe injury in her masts, spars, and rigging; has had a serious escape from shipwreck; and been driven out of her course hundreds of miles. The storm subsides—the crew patch up their sails, rigging, &c.—and get slowly under weigh. They soon forget their sufferings—sing halleluias for their deliverance—but, not admonished by their misfortunes, make no preparation against another storm, although there are in the horizon strong symptoms of its approach—and, when it begins to rage, are as little prepared to meet it as before.

Such is our course of proceeding.

It may not be improper incidentally to notice the reason why the manufacture of coarse cottons has gained ground so rapidly. The duty varies, according to the price, from 50 to 90 per cent—and has been found absolutely prohibitory. That happy consequence has resulted, which such a system rarely fails to produce. The manufacture is carried on with so many advantages—the goods are so excellent and cheap—so far superior to the articles imported—and their reputation is so completely established—that the rival articles from Europe and the East Indies cannot be introduced without loss.

From the present gleam of prosperity elaborate efforts are made to prove that our policy has been perfectly sound and wise; that those who believe it radically wrong and pernicious, are utterly incorrect in their views; that all the censures cast on it were unjust and unfounded; and, notwithstanding the millions of dollars sacrificed since the peace by the ruin of princely establishments, that manufactures have been adequately protected. And indeed some of our newspaper critics and editors go so far as to assert, that our situation is highly prosperous, and that the contrary statements are purely the result of sinister views, or the wild ravings of the gloomy and discontented.

To prove the utter fallacy of these gratuitous assertions, it would be sufficient to refer to the melancholy

and distressed situation of the great states of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, containing a population of 1,568,564 souls—and likewise to the interior of New-York and Pennsylvania, nearly as gloomy. The aggregate of those parts of the two last, with the whole of the other three states, make nearly a fourth of the population of the union—and surely such glowing descriptions of prosperity are utterly incompatible with the extreme suffering of so large a proportion of the whole number of our citizens.

As this is a point of great importance, I must be pardoned for shedding a little more light on it. For if the assertions of these gentlemen be entitled to credit, then no alteration of our system can be necessary. It is therefore incumbent on those who disbelieve in them, to remove all doubt of their inaccuracy. Should this point not be established, then all that is written on this side of the question is worse than useless.

At the last session of congress, there was a considerable diversity of sentiment on the proper means to supply the great deficiency of revenue. Many members, regarding it as disgraceful, in a time of profound peace, after six years cessation of war, to have recourse to loans, were in favour of direct taxes; others advocated an excise. The committee of ways and means, whose proper province it was, to investigate the subject, pronounced this decision on it:—

“The imposition of an excise *at this season of extreme distress*, would be unwise, and is not demanded by the state of the treasury. If imposed, *it would be difficult to collect*: and, if collected, it would in some parts of the union, be in paper little available.”

“*Not demanded by the state of the treasury.*” This is really a most extraordinary declaration, and proves how very superficially public bodies are in the habit of considering the subjects on which they have to decide, and how flippantly unqualified assertions are hazarded, which cannot stand the test of a moment’s ex-

amination. A great deficiency had occurred in the revenue the preceding year, 1820; three millions of dollars had been borrowed—the sinking fund had been diverted to discharge the current expenses—the secretary of the treasury's report stated a deficiency of four or five millions for the year 1821: in a word, the financial department presented the most gloomy aspect—and yet, wonderful to tell, the committee of ways and means had no hesitation in coming forward with great gravity, and asserting that the imposition of an excise was “*not demanded by the state of the treasury.*” Had there been a balance of a few millions of dollars in the treasury, or had they predicated the rejection of the proposition for an excise on “*the extreme distress*” of the nation, and the utter impossibility of collecting it in the western states, and in the western portion of the states of Pennsylvania and New-York, they would have declared the truth, and nothing but the truth. But when they announce that an alarming deficiency in “*the state of the treasury*” did not “demand the imposition of an excise,” or the adoption of some other mode of taxation, then they unhappily and unguardedly committed themselves by an unfounded declaration, liable to detection by the most superficial observer.

The preceding appalling view of the state of the country, extorted from a committee of congress, is not of very ancient date. It was reported on the 6th of February, 1821, only a few weeks before the promulgation of those glowing descriptions of our prosperity, to which it forms so striking a contrast. The transition from “*extreme distress*,” to its opposite, “*national prosperity*,” is a child of slow growth, which cannot be called into premature existence by the magic wand of newspaper essayists.

To prove that I have not exaggerated the distress of the interior of New-York, I quote the declarations of Samuel Hopkins, Esq. of Moscow, in Genesee

county, a gentleman of high respectability, and one of the judges of that state. They were delivered in an address to an agricultural society, so lately as the 18th of October, 1820.

“ We have probably four or five hundred thousand dollars of annual interest accumulating against us, of our land debt—exclusive of our commercial debt.—And so totally has money disappeared, that it may be doubted whether there is in this district enough to pay the interest on the amount of interest. We may be said to have but three articles of any moment for exportation—namely, flour, cattle, and potashes ; and as far as I know, the depression in the prices of these is without a parallel. Last year we talked of the difficulty of paying for our lands. *This year the question is how to exist. The struggle is not now for property.—From this time onward we shall have to contend for clothing, and a few other necessities, without which we must become a miserable, and I fear a barbarous people.*

“ The cities are eating up their capital ; the country is wearing out clothes, without sufficient means to get new ones, either by manufacture or purchase. Meantime our importations go on. Specie is plenty in a few hands—but the country at large, though overflowing with abundance of its products, has nothing with which to buy money—and *all the ordinary pursuits of life are palsied for want of a medium of exchange.*”

One more proof, “ to make assurance doubly sure.” The secretary of the treasury, some time previously, presented an equally gloomy picture, in a report, bearing date February 12, 1820. “ *Few examples have occurred, of a distress so general and so severe, as that which has been exhibited in the United States.*”

Assuming, then, as beyond all doubt, that a degree of “ extreme distress” has “ been exhibited in the United States,” “ so general and so severe,” that “ few” similar “ examples have occurred ;” believing that it is still felt by no small portion of our citizens—and further, that in a country where ninety-nine of the agriculturists out of every hundred, own the soil they

cultivate, and where every man is free to follow what trade or business he chooses, such distress must necessarily be the result of an unwise and pernicious policy; the investigation I have proposed to make, must be seasonable and proper. Previously to entering on this discussion, I request the attention of the reader to a digression on the state of a portion of Europe.

CHAPTER II.

Our situation improperly likened to that of Europe. Long wars and enormous expenditures of Great Britain. Revenue of England for 1821. Taxes in Scotland. Profits of the cotton, woollen, linen and leather manufactures. Annual burdens of the United States.

Among the means used to lull us asleep, and divert our attention from investigating the causes of, or remedies for, the "extreme distress," stated by the secretary, the most remarkable is, the reference to, and comparison with, the state of Europe. We have for seven years been gravely told, that all the nations of that quarter of the globe are in a state of suffering, and that we have no right to expect an exemption.

Were all the nations of Europe really in a state of suffering and misery, as is thus confidently asserted, the inference would be unfair and illogical—as reasons might readily be assigned for their distress, which do not exist in the United States. Among these may be stated the extreme length and dreadful calamities of their wars—their heavy debts—their burdensome and oppressive establishments in church and state, &c.

It is not necessary to enter into an investigation of the situation of all the countries in Europe to prove the unsoundness of the assumption of general distress,

and the want of foundation of the inference, which has been drawn, even had the assumption been warranted by fact. I shall confine myself to three nations, which occupy a considerable space on the trading and commercial stage—England, France, and Holland—the first and last actually in a state of suffering, the other in a state of high prosperity.

Great Britain was above twenty years at war. Her expenses were enormous beyond all example, in ancient or modern times. She subsidized, at different periods, nearly all the monarchs of Europe. That she should now reap the fruits of this extravagant expenditure, is not very extraordinary. Indeed, if she did not, it would be absolutely miraculous.

To enable the reader to form an idea of the proper connexion of cause and effect, I present a view of her expenditure.

From the commencement of the war in 1793,	
till the year 1812, her loans amounted to	£ 453,617,455*
In 1813, - - - - -	64,000,000†
Her revenue I estimate at	£ 40,000,000‡
per annum, amounting in twenty years to	- 800,000,000
	£ 1,317,617,455
Equal to about	\$ 5,829,000,000

Thus she expended about 290,000,000 of dollars per annum, for twenty years, while our expenses did not exceed 60,000,000 per annum, for two years and a half—and yet, wonderful to tell! our distress is traced to the same source as hers! It is difficult to conceive of a much greater absurdity.

But this is far from the whole of the discrepancy.

* Colquhoun on the wealth, power, and resources of the British Empire, page 50.

† Idem, page. 53.

‡ The revenue in 1813, was £ 63,500,000. I might therefore safely assume 45, or 50,000,000*l.* per annum, for the whole period. But to avoid cavil, I choose to be under the real sum.

Her present annual burdens are above four times as much as our national debt. The following is a state of her revenue for the year ending October, 1821.

Customs, - - - - -	£ 8,765,865
Excise, - - - - -	26,471,363
Stamps, - - - - -	6,145,986
Post-office, - - - - -	1,331,000
Assessed taxes, - - - - -	6,297,777
Land taxes, - - - - -	1,217,856
Miscellaneous, - - - - -	297,954

Total revenue, £ 50,528,801

Other burdens on the nation.

Poor tax, 1820, - - - - -	8,719,655
Tithes, supposed, - - - - -	10,000,000*
Rents, do. - - - - -	20,000,000*
	£ 89,248,456

Equal to about - - - - - \$ 400,000,000

These contributions are raised in England proper, of which the population is only 12,000,000 of souls.

The taxes collected in 1815, in Scotland alone, of which the population is only about 2,000,000 of souls, were £ 4,155,599,† equal to about 18,000,000 of dollars, which is more than the sum that the United States, containing a population of 9,600,000 persons, had to raise the last and preceding year, and which could not be raised without having recourse to loans for nearly a fourth part of the whole.

Instead, therefore, of wondering at the extensive sufferings of the people of England, the mind is lost

* These sums are, as must be obvious, mere estimates, and may be greatly overrated. All my endeavours to procure correct information on the subject, have been in vain. But whatever reduction they may be liable to, will not materially affect the question.

† Colquhoun, page 256.

in astonishment how they can support such burdens at all. Nothing could enable them to do it, but the immense advantages they derive from machinery and manufactures, whereby they are enabled to lay a large portion of the civilized world under contribution.

It may not be improper to present to the reader a slight view of those advantages. The difference in the year 1814 in four of them, between the cost of the raw materials and the value of the articles produced from them, which may all be fairly assumed as clear national profit, was no less than 63,000,000*l.* sterling; equal to above 270,000,000 dollars.

Proceeds of

Cotton manufacture,	£ 29,000,000
Woollen, - - -	26,000,000
Linen, - - -	15,000,000
Leather, - - -	15,000,000
	£ 85,000,000

Raw materials of the

Cotton, cost - - -	6,000,000
Woollen, - - -	8,000,000
Linen, - - -	5,000,000
Leather - - -	3,000,000
	22,000,000

£ 63,000,000*

Thus it appears that the manufacture multiplies the value of the raw materials of woollen goods above, and of linen exactly, three fold—of cotton nearly, and of leather fully, five fold.

In the city of Glasgow, and its neighbourhood, the amount of cotton goods manufactured in one year was 5,000,000*l.* equal to 22,000,000 of dollars.†

* Colquhoun on the wealth, power, and resources of the British Empire, page 91.

† “ By a computation, from data collected with great care, it appears that in the year ending May 1818, there were 105,000,000 of yards of cotton cloth of all descriptions, manufactured in Glasgow, and the neighbourhood, the value of

This is the true secret of the “wealth, power, and resources” of Great Britain; these are the means by which she has been enabled to support the enormous and unprecedented expenses of the late war, to subsidize so many of the monarchs of Europe, and to bear enormous burdens, the twentieth part of which is here found so very oppressive. And without pretending to the spirit of prophecy, it may be asserted that the United States will never attain that high degree of prosperity and resources to which their manifold blessings, natural, moral, and political, entitle them, until they adopt the policy which produces such salutary effects.

I hope a slight reflection on the above facts will satisfy every person whose mind is open to conviction, that the idea so confidently promulgated, that because Great Britain suffers, our sufferings were inevitable, is wholly untenable.

I now present a view of the burdens borne by the citizens of the United States in the year 1820.

Customs, - - - - -	\$ 12,449,556
Arrears of internal taxes, - - -	104,172
Arrears of direct tax, - - -	31,286
Postage and other incidental expenses	63,659
Support of the poor, supposed, - -	1,500,000
Support of the clergy, - - -	2,250,000
Rents of land, supposed, - - -	1,500,000
Support of state governments,	2,500,000
	\$ 20,398,673

There are two items of revenue in the secretary's report, which I have not included—as they cannot be said to be burdens on our citizens. I mean the bonus from the bank, 1,000,000 dollars, and the amount of the sales of lands, \$1,635,871.

“which was estimated to be 5,000,000*l.*; and that of the goods “about one half was exported.” Supplement to the Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. III. Part II. page 404.

How strong and striking the contrast! The burden of each person in England averages above thirty-three dollars per annum—whereas ours is less than two dollars and a half!

Among the extravagant ideas to which the discussion of the proposed tariff has given rise, and heaven knows the number has been immoderately large, there is none more extraordinary than that which ascribes the sufferings of England to her protecting system, wholly overlooking the effects of the enormous expenditure stated in the preceding pages. Incredible as it may appear, it is nevertheless strictly true, that this idea has been very frequently adduced in memorials to congress—in newspaper essays—and not very indirectly even in Mr. Cambreleng's extolled Examination of the tariff.

"In answer to those who ascribe our distress to a want of protection to our domestic industry, we may say that no nation on earth, complains more bitterly and loudly than England, *in the full enjoyment of all the blessings of a system protecting industry with bounties and monopolies.*"*

Now, I will suppose that Mr. Cambreleng's profits were 500 or 1000 per cent. as, however incredible it may seem, he has stated the mercantile profits of "*former times*†," and that he gained annually 50,000 dollars—but expended 100,000—ran himself in debt, and had a heavy amount of interest accumulating against him—or that a farmer whose lands produced \$1000

* Examination, page 17.

† Mr. Cambreleng's calculations of profits must make the reader stare with astonishment—"Were it possible to unfold the mysteries of the commerce of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, the Chinese, and the South Seas, during the last thirty years, it would no longer be a matter of surprise to see our merchants with capitals of 500,000, 1,000,000, 2,000,000, and 3,000,000 of dollars. Their profits were, *in former times, frequently five hundred or one thousand per cent!*"—*Risum teneatis, amici?*—Idem, page 172.

per annum, expended 2000—would it be fair or right to charge the distress, embarrassment, and difficulties of either merchant or farmer, to the commerce of the one or the agriculture of the other? Surely not. And is it not equally absurd to charge the embarrassments of England to that feature of her policy which has been the grand source of her riches, and the means of obtaining for her an ascendancy in the affairs of Europe, so far beyond that to which her natural resources entitle her?

There is one additional reason for the sufferings of the English nation, to which little attention has been paid. Machinery has been carried to such a degree of perfection as to supersede a large portion of the manual labour of the country, and to deprive the workmen of employment. An eighth part, therefore, of the population of England proper, is by these means obliged to depend in whole or in part for subsistence on the overseers of the poor. To add to their distress, they are, either by poverty, or the rigour of the laws against the emigration of mechanics, debarred from the opportunity of bettering their condition abroad. Hence a moderate share of common sense will satisfy every man of reflection, that highly-improved machinery, which, in countries thinly peopled, such as the United States, is a blessing of the first order, operates perniciously in countries of dense population like England. The reason is obvious. In the one country, when industry is properly protected, the want of labourers is severely felt—in the other, they are almost always too numerous for the demand.

CHAPTER III.

Wars and sacrifices of France. Subjugation. Resuscitation of her resources and prosperity. Causes of the change. Tariff of Napoleon. Policy and tariff of Louis XVIII. No fears of taxing the many for the benefit of the few.

France, like Great Britain, was at war for twenty years, a part of the time against half of Europe. Her expenses and sacrifices were enormous. The war was finally closed by subjugation, and prostration under various hostile armies, of different nations, all embittered, and infuriated by the injuries inflicted on their respective countries during the supremacy of France. For two or three years their ravages were like those of the Egyptian locusts. A military contribution of about \$100,000,000, added to the support of these victorious armies, capped the climax of her sufferings.—And what, after all these exhausting scenes, is her present situation! Every account received of her affairs, worthy of credit, whether from European or American travellers, portrays them in the most prosperous state. Her debt is sunk down so low, as to afford hope of its being extinguished in a few years. Her agriculture, manufactures and commerce, are in a most flourishing state—her people are almost universally and usefully employed—Her revenue exceeds her expenses—and some of the most obnoxious taxes are repealed. In one word, while the United States were retrograding in 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819 and 1820, France was making rapid advances in the high road to prosperity.

The radical difference in the policy of the two nations is, that she regarded the employment of her people in manufactures as a grand national object, the only point of light in which it ought to be viewed. Where-

as the question was scarcely ever thought of here, but through the narrow contracted medium of procuring goods abroad cheaper than they could be had at home. In this way, our treasures have been lavished in China, Great Britain, France, and Germany, while so many of our own citizens were devoted to idleness, and penury, and exposed to the seductions of vice and crime.

The minister of finance, in a report made on the 1st of February 1821, to Louis XVIII. thus accounts for the prosperity of France, and the flourishing state of her finances.

"The fabrication of every thing necessary for the consumption of the population, being exclusively confined to the nation, France has been in a situation to extend her consumption, which has gone on increasing from year to year:" and in proof he states the consumption of "coffee, salt, and cotton-wool, the last year, 1820, which has produced to the treasury an increase of revenue of 18,000,000 of francs,"* equal to about 3,600,000 dollars.

The following extracts from the speech of the King of France to the Legislature at its recent session, afford a gratifying view of the prosperity resulting from the restrictive system, and amply corroborate the preceding statements.

"If we take a view of our domestic state, what motives have we not to bless Providence! The sensible progress

* "Tous les états d'Europe, (à l'exception de la France), éprouvent le même défaut [de finances]: et pour quelle raison? M. Roy, ministre des finances, répondra pour nous, dans le rapport qu'il a fait à ce sujet, le 1er Février dernier à Louis XVIII. *"C'est que la fabrication de tous les objets nécessaires à la consommation de la nation étant exclusivement réservée à la nation,* celle-ci a été en état de faire une plus grande consommation; et que cette consommation allait croissant d'année en année: et il a donné pour preuve celle des cafés, des sels, des cotons en laine, de l'année dernière, qui a procuré au trésor *une augmentation de revenus de 18,000,000 de francs.*" *Considerations sur le projet de loi concernant le nouveau système du Royaume de Pays Bas. Page 41. A Bruxelles, 27 Juin, 1821.*

“of industry, agriculture, and the arts, attests that of commerce; and very soon new channels will, by multiplying the means of communication and traffic, extend the general good to all parts of the kingdom.

“*The prosperity of the finances, the intelligible exposition of the public accounts, and fidelity to engagements, have consolidated public credit, and increased the resources of the state.*

“Our auspicious situation, and the return of internal and external tranquillity, *have already admitted of a diminution in one of the most onerous of the taxes*—that which marks reproduction in its source, by overcharging landed property. Next year those so assessed will wholly enjoy this reduction.”

On the 27th of Nov. 1821, the Minister of France laid before the Chamber of Deputies his annual report, which, after stating the receipts of the treasury for one year at 890,000,000 francs, and the expenditures at 889,500,000 francs, thus casts an exulting glance at the situation of France.

“Such a result of the termination of calamities, which in any other country an age would scarcely be sufficient to efface, evinces among us resources triumphant over the most adverse situations. What other nation besides France would be able, after what she has suffered, even up to 1818, by war and other unhappy circumstances, to present in three years the spectacle which she this day offers? *Her political engagements punctually fulfilled; her territory free and tranquil; her commerce and industry increasing in activity; her treasury always full; her securities advancing to par; all her capital in employment, whether to acquire, to construct, to repair, or to give an impulse to works of public utility.*”

Thus, we see, that while our revenue has been gradually diminishing, that of France has been rapidly increasing. The impoverishment of the United States by the payment for the enormous importations of 1815, 16, 17, and 18, has for two or three years past, disabled our citizens from purchasing as freely as they were wont to do. Our importations have great-

ly diminished, and those for a large part of the western country almost wholly ceased. The impost has in consequence been proportionably reduced.

Every year of our experience corroborates the soundness of the policy advocated by Alexander Hamilton in his very celebrated report on Manufactures, the most valuable publication on this topic, I repeat, produced in any age or nation.

“ There is no truth,” says he, “ which may be more firmly relied upon than that the interests of the revenue are promoted by whatever promotes an increase of national industry and wealth.”

The converse of this proposition is as true as if dictated by inspiration. The interests of the revenue are impaired by whatever diminishes national industry and wealth. France proves the one—we prove the other position. The time will come when we shall feel and act upon these truths. But how long we shall continue, as we have done for years past, to waste our energies and resources, for the benefit of foreign nations, omniscience alone can determine.

It remains to develop that course of sound policy which has raised France so triumphantly from her prostrate state, and enabled her to attain that high degree of prosperity which she now enjoys.

Napoleon's tariff, now before me, excluded a large portion of those articles that could be produced in his own dominions: and most of the others of that description were burdened with very high duties. There were above one hundred and twenty articles absolutely prohibited. In consequence, the industry of the nation was fully employed. It not only preserved its wealth from being squandered abroad to purchase what could be made at home, but laid other nations under contribution by its manufactures—and hence the resources of the nation were constantly increasing, even during the continuance of a most devouring warfare. Moreover Bonaparte, while engaged

in his extensive plans of conquest and subjugation promoted manufactures by every means in his power—and even went so far as to lend supplies of money to manufacturers at two per cent. per annum,* to enable them to extend their business. Will it for a moment be supposed that this great sacrifice was made for the sake of that body of men, or that their particular interest had any influence over this aspiring and ambitious monarch? By no means. Had they alone been concerned, they would have been regarded by him with total indifference. His views were far more profound. He patronized them—not merely for the wealth which their labour saved the country, but equally for that which it drew from foreign nations.

Let us now view the system of Louis XVIII. We have seen the enormous expenditure of Great Britain during the late wars, amounting to above 1300,000,000 pounds sterling, equal to about 5,700,000,000 of dollars, of which by far the major part was for the purpose of placing him on the throne of his ancestors. Never, therefore, had any nation higher claims on the gratitude of a monarch, than Great Britain on that of Louis XVIII.—and it might have been expected that he would, from motives of gratitude, have opened his ports to the manufactures of that nation, as a return for its services and sacrifices. But regard for the interests of his country outweighed all private and personal considerations—and one of the earliest measures of his administration was to renew Bonaparte's tariff, with some alterations, rendering it more severe. No apprehensions of failure of revenue deterred him from the adoption of this policy—nor of smuggling—nor extortion, nor any of those other terrific objects which exert an irresistible power over our national legislature, and have immolated so many millions of money invested in manufactures—bankrupted so many estimable men, who made such strong ap-

* Mr. Cambreleng's Examination, page 102.

peals to congress—devested of employment so many thousands, whose sole property lay in the industry of their hands—and produced that impoverishment which has arrested the nation in the career of its prosperity.—The temptation of “buying goods abroad cheaper than they could be had at home,” had no weight with him. The grand object was to secure employment for his subjects—to protect their industry—and to prevent the national wealth from being lavished on foreign nations. That he has been successful, the actual state of the kingdom fully establishes.

The celebrated Chaptal, ex-minister of the Interior under Bonaparte, lately published a most luminous and interesting view of the policy of France in regard to manufactures—a policy as foreign from ours as light from darkness—virtue from vice.

“A sound legislation on the subject of duties on imports, is
 “ the *true safeguard of agricultural and manufacturing in-*
 “ *dustry.* It raises or diminishes the duties according to cir-
 “ cumstances and the necessity of the case. It countervails
 “ the disadvantages under which our manufactures labour,
 “ from the difference of the price of workmanship or fuel.
 “ IT SHIELDS THE RISING ARTS BY PROHI-
 “ BITIONS, thus preserving them from the rivalry of
 “ foreigners, till they have arrived at complete perfection.
 “ It tends to establish the national independence, and en-
 “ riches the country by useful labour, which, as I have re-
 “ peatedly said, is the principal source of wealth.”‡

‡ “ Une bonne législation de douanes est la vraie sauvegarde
 “ de l’industrie agricole et manufacturière ; elle élève ou di-
 “ minue les droits aux frontières, selon les circonstances et les
 “ besoins ; elle compense le désavantage que notre fabrica-
 “ tion peut trouver dans le prix comparé de la main d’œuvre
 “ ou du combustible ; elle *protège les arts naissans par les pro-*
 “ *hibitions, pour ne les livrer à la concurrence avec les étrangers,*
 “ *que lorsqu’ils ont pu réunir tous les degrés de perfection ;* elle
 “ tend à assurer l’indépendance industrielle de la France, et elle
 “ l’enrichit de la main d’œuvre, qui, comme je l’ai dit plu-
 “ sieurs fois, est la principale source des richesses.” Chaptal
 “ sur l’*Industrie Francoise*, Vol. II. page 417. Published 1819.

“It has been almost every where found, that rising manufactures are unable to struggle against establishments cemented by time, nourished by numerous capitals, with a credit established by a continued success, and conducted by numbers of experienced and skillful artists : and *we have been forced to have recourse to prohibitions to ward off the competition of foreign productions.*”*

Such are the principles of the French policy on this important subject. Now behold the practice—

“In the commencement, our casimers cost the manufacturer twenty-seven francs per ell—and the English offered their’s to the consumer at half price. Cambrics and calicoes, ill made, cost us from seven to eight francs per ell—the English delivered their’s at three : ought we, then, to have abandoned these attempts at manufacturing superiority? No. It was our duty to persist and attain to perfection. This was the course we pursued—and we have arrived at such a degree of perfection that our industry excites the jealousy of the nation from which it has been derived.

“If, during the twelve or fifteen years in which our efforts, our researches, and our experiments were going on, we had not excluded competition by absolute prohibition, I ask of the partisans of the fifteen per cent. duty, what would have become of that delightful industry, which is now at once the pride, the glory, and the wealth of France?”†

* “On a éprouvé, presque partout, que des manufactures naissantes ne pouvoient pas lutter contre des établissemens cimentés par le temps, alimentés par de nombreux capitaux, accrédités par des succès soutenus, exploités par un grand concours d’artistes instruits et exercés : et l’on a été forcé de recourir aux prohibitions pour écarter la concurrence des produits étrangers.”—Idem, tom. i. xlvi.

† “Nos casimirs coûtoient 25 fr. l’aune au fabricant, dans le principe ; et les Anglais offroient les leurs au consommateur, à moitié prix ; les percalles, les calicots, mal fabriqués, nous revenoient à 7 à 8 fr. l’aune ; les Anglais les livroient à 3 fr.

“Falloit-il renoncer à ce projet de conquête manufacturière ? Non, il falloit persister et se perfectionner. C’est aussi la marche qu’on a suivie : et nous sommes arrivés à un tel

A favourite idea with many of the French political economists, is, that any manufacture, which cannot support itself when shielded by a protecting duty of fifteen per cent. ought to be abandoned. Such opinions prevail here very generally. M. Chaptal, arguing from past experience, the true criterion of theories, displays the fallacy of this idea, and the ruinous consequences which its adoption would not fail to produce.

“ I go further. Even at the present time, when these various species of industry are in a flourishing state ; when there is nothing to desire, with regard to the price or quality of our productions, a duty of fifteen per cent., which would open the door to the competition of foreign fabrics, would shake to their foundations all the establishments which exist in France. *Our stores would, in a few days, be crowded with foreign merchandize. It would be sold at any price, in order to extinguish our industry. Our manufactories would be devoted to idleness, through the impossibility of the proprietors making the same sacrifices as foreigners ;* and we should behold the same scenes as followed the treaty of commerce, 1786, although it was concluded on the basis of fifteen per cent.”*

“ degré de perfection, que notre industrie excite aujourd’hui la jalousie de la nation qui nous l’a transmise.

“ Si, pendant douze à quinze ans qu’ont duré nos essais, nos recherches, nos tâtonnemens, on n’avait pas écarté du cours, par la prohibition, les produits étrangers, je demande aux partisans des 15 pour cent, ce que seroit devenue cette belle industrie qui fait l’ornement, la gloire et la richesse de la France ?”—Idem, Tom II. page 431.

* “ Je dirai plus : aujourd’hui que ces genres d’industries sont florissans, aujourd’hui que nous n’avons plus rien à désirer sous le rapport du prix et de la qualité des produits, un droit de 15 pour cent, qui ouvreroit la concurrence aux fabriques étrangères, ébranleroit jusque dans leurs fondemens tous les établissemens qui existent en France. Nos magasins seroient remplis, en quelques jours, de marchandises importées ; on les donneroit à tout prix pour étouffer notre industrie ; nos manufactures seroient vouées à l’inaction par l’impossibilité où sont les propriétaires de faire les mêmes sacrifices que les étrangers, et nous verrions se reproduire ce qui est arrivé après le traité de commerce de 1786, quoiqu’il eût été conclu sur la base de 15 pour cent.” Idem, page 432.

In April 1816, the tariff underwent a new revision, and the list of prohibited articles was somewhat reduced—but it still included three fourths of the most important manufactures and productions, with which the French are able to supply themselves.

I annex a list of the principal

Articles of which the importation into France was prohibited by the tariff of 1816.

Manufactures of steel, except instruments and mercery	Sheet iron, and old iron
Manufactures of bronze	Watches and clocks of all descriptions
Copper and brass, polished	Medals, counters, and pocket pieces
Pig iron, under 400 kilogrammes	Prepared medicaments, pulverized substances, and pharmaceutical preparations
Wrought iron in bars, and anvils and other large pieces	Kerseymeres and other light stuffs
Common sea salt	Rum and taffia, made of molasses, except from the French colonies
Silk stuffs wrought with false silver, or false gold	Rack, made of rice
Silk stuffs, mixed with thread	All other kinds of spirits, made of grain, apples, &c.
Gold and silver gauze	Cotton hosiery
Silk lace	Buttons of all sorts
Wove cotton goods	Playing cards
Woollen cloths	Nails
All kinds of muslins, dimities, Marseilles, muslinets, and all other twilled stuffs made of cotton	Cotton yarn without any distinction of numbers
Shawls and handkerchiefs	All kinds of cutlery
Manufactures of plated gold and silver	Wrought rock crystal
Manufactures of skins and leather	Manufactures of brass, copper and tin
Morocco leather	Gunpowder
Crockery and Liverpool ware	Molasses, except from the French colonies
Tobacco in the leaf, or in stems, <i>except for the regie</i>	Carriages, new or old, mounted or otherwise
Wove stuffs of cloth, farnoughts of all kinds and qualities.	Soap, white, black or marbled, &c. &c. &c.

In 1817 the French tariff was again revised, and some other alterations made in it, but all the important articles remain prohibited to this day—as, woollens, cottons, sadlery, manufactures of iron, steel, brass, copper and tin, gunpowder, fire arms, pottery, soap, refined or loaf sugar, tobacco, (except for the regie) &c. &c. &c.

While Congress looked with perfect *sang froid* on the annihilation of so many of our manufactures, the sacrifice of the millions of dollars invested in the manufactories, and the bankruptcy of the proprietors, in 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820, and, shocking to relate, and disgraceful that it should have to be related, did not even condescend to hear the humble supplications of the sufferers read, what a contrast is formed by the preceding views of the practice and policy of France on this point, and the humane considerations by which that policy has been regulated! The contrast is highly honourable for France. But what is it for the United States? The question will not bear to be answered.

Cotton yarn may be considered as a raw material; and as, on general principles, raw materials are usually admitted duty free, or at very low duties, it might perhaps claim a right of admission on very easy terms. But there are no less than 200,000 persons engaged in the manufacture of it in France—and this consideration has induced the government to prohibit it altogether. Behold the reflections of Chaptal on the subject, and let them be contrasted with the opinions sported in, and the course pursued by, congress.—

“Cotton yarn forms the raw material of our numerous
“laces and calicoes. If we freely open our ports to this ma-
“terial which has undergone but a single operation, behold
“the infallible results! *One hundred millions* [of livres, equal
to about *eighteen millions of dollars*] “at present productive,
“*would be destroyed for the spinner, the manufacturer, and*
“*for France*—because it is invested in buildings, utensils,

“ and machinery, adapted to this purpose alone—*two hundred thousand persons would be divested of employment—*
 “ 80,000,000 [of livres] of manual labour would be lost to
 “ France,—and commerce would be deprived of one of its
 “ principal resources, which consists in the transportation of
 “ cotton wool from Asia and America to France.

“ Let it not be presumed that I deceive myself. I am
 “ well acquainted with the state of our cotton spinning, and
 “ that of the two neighbouring countries. In France, it is
 “ true, manual labour is cheap. But, on the other side,
 “ more extensive establishments, supported by large capi-
 “ tals, *afford advantages against which it is impossible for*
 “ *us as yet to struggle.* To this must be added, that the
 “ English spinning machinery has been in use for 60 years ;
 “ that the proprietors are indemnified for all the expen-
 “ ses of their first establishment ; that the profits have been
 “ converted into new capitals ; whereas ours are of recent
 “ formation, and the interest of the first investments ought
 “ for a long time to be computed in all the calculations of
 “ the profits of the manufacture.

“ *The English manufacturer, reimbursed for his first in-*
 “ *vestments, and possessing a large capital, is able to make*
 “ *sacrifices to overwhelm a rival establishment.* Whereas
 “ the French manufacturer is destitute of defence, unless
 “ protected by the tariff. To enable the industry of one
 “ country to compete with that of another, it does not suf-
 “ fice that the productions be of the same quality—it is ne-
 “ cessary that the process of the manufacture present on
 “ each side the same advantages.”*

* “ Le fil de coton forme la matière première dans nos nom-
 “ breuses fabriques de tissus et d’impression sur toile ; ouvrez la
 “ porte à ce produit d’une première opération, en voici les résul-
 “ tats infaillibles : plus de cent millions aujourd’hui productifs,
 “ vont être anéantis pour le fileur, le fabricant, et la France ;
 “ parce qu’ils ne consistent qu’en bâtimens, usines, et machines
 “ appropriés à ce seul usage ; une population de deux cent mille
 “ ouvriers va être déshéritée de son travail ; environ quatre vingt
 “ millions de main d’œuvre vont être perdus pour la France ; le
 “ commerce sera privé d’une de ses principales ressources, qui
 “ consistent dans le transport des cotons de l’Asie et de l’Amé-
 “ rique en France.

“ Et qu’on ne croie pas que je me fasse illusion ; je
 “ connois l’état comparé de nos filatures et de celles de
 “ deux pays voisins : ici une main d’œuvre plus économi-

Against the importation even of coals, duty free, M. Chaptal presents the following luminous reasons :

“ Coals are certainly a raw material. But should we admit them duty free, we should soon see closed those rich coal pits on which such immense sums have been expended, to penetrate the veins, and raise the coal by steam engines. The low price at which the English can deliver their coals in our ports, in consequence of the facility of extraction, and the proximity of the mines to the sea, afford them advantages which are wholly out of our power to countervail.”*

Such was the policy of the military despotism of Bonaparte—such is the policy of the reigning dynasty—and such is the provident care of the national resources, and of individual prosperity. What Ameri-

“ que ; là, des établissemens plus considérables, alimentés par de grands capitaux, forment des avantages contre lesquels nous ne pouvons pas lutter encore. Ajoutez à cela que les filatures anglaises par mécanique existent depuis soixante ans ; que les frais de premier établissement sont rentrés ; que les bénéfices ont créé de nouveaux capitaux ; tandis que les filatures françoises ont été formés de nos jours, et que les intérêts de la première mise de fonds doivent être compris, pour long-temps, dans les bénéfices de la fabrication. *Le fabricant anglois, couvert de ses avances, riche de ses capitaux, peut faire des sacrifices pour étouffer une industrie rivale ; le fabricant françois n'a rien à lui opposer, si la législation ne le protège.* Pour que l'industrie d'une nation puisse concourir avec celle d'une autre, il ne suffit pas que les produits soient de même qualité, il faut encore que les moyens d'exécution présentent, des deux côtés, les mêmes avantages.” *Idem page 424.*

* “ Le charbon de terre est certainement une matière première ; eh bien ! qu'on en admette la libre importation sans payer aucun droit à l'entrée, nous verrons bientôt se fermer ces riches houillères du nord et du midi de la France, où l'on a dépensé des sommes immenses pour pénétrer jusqu'aux filons, pour extraire l'eau et le charbon par des pompes à feu. Le bas prix auquel les Anglois peuvent verser le charbon de terre dans nos ports, à cause de la facilité d'extraction, et de la proximité où sont leurs mines de la mer, leur donne un avantage que nous ne pouvons compenser d'aucune manière.”—*Idem, page 426.*

can make a contrast between this policy and that of the United States, or reflect on the utter disregard of the ruin of their suffering fellow citizens, which, I repeat—and it can never be too often repeated—has distinguished the proceedings of congress on this vital topic, ever since the close of the war, without blushing for his native country? The total loss of millions of property—the ruin of magnificent establishments—the bankruptcy and distress of their owners—and the calamities of the unfortunate workmen, have had no more effect, and produced no more sympathy, at Washington, than the sufferings of so many Greeks at Constantinople.

I have now, from the experience of a mighty nation, detailed the clear principle whereby the wealth of nations is promoted, as well as its actual operation and its prosperous result. The inference is irresistible. It is a correct maxim, that “the tree is known by its fruits.” A system producing such salutary and beneficent consequences, must be sound and just, and any system diametrically opposite to it, must be pernicious. For slight temporary sacrifices, France now reaps a rich harvest of wealth and happiness. Her situation, I repeat, never was more prosperous. And she presents a practical lesson, not to be disregarded with impunity, not to our statesmen alone, but to the whole world, of the immense and inexpressible folly of being led astray by the *ignis fatuus* of wild abstract theories, and shutting their eyes against the strong and overwhelming evidence of facts and history.

In all other sciences a man is justly regarded to a certain degree insane, who pertinaciously supports a theory contradicted by facts and experience. For instance, were a physician to write a book, to prove that phlebotomy was a specific in the last stage of consumption; Cayenne pepper, wine, and brandy for gout; exposure to cold for rheumatism; tea or coffee immoderately strong for weak nerves; when experiments were fairly tried, and found to hurry the ill-fated pa-

tients to an untimely grave, the theories would be discredited, and he would be shunned as a pestilence if he dared to operate on them. But, unhappily for the world, in the science of political economy, on correct views of which the prosperity and happiness of nations depend, fallacious theories are advocated with zeal and ardour, although not only not supported by a single fact in history, but contradicted by the experience of all nations whatever. The strong deductions from the policy of the Edwards and Elizabeth in England—of Henry IV. and Louis XIV. in France—of Frederic in Prussia—from the immense resources of Great Britain—from the complete and wonderful recovery of France after the conquest—as well as from the decay of Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Ireland, are wholly disregarded: and our statesmen, moreover, reject the invaluable admonitions of Franklin and Hamilton, and perpetuate a system which has entailed distress and calamity on every nation by which it has been adopted!

CHAPTER IV.

Erroneous statement contained in a report to congress respecting the kingdom of Holland. Real situation of that country. Its false policy. Miserable consequences. Increase of pauperism, and decrease of revenue.

DURING the last session of Congress, an elaborate report was presented to the House of Representatives by the committee on agriculture, written by Mr. Garnet, a respectable citizen of Virginia. This document cites the case of Holland most triumphantly against any increase of the impost, and asserts that that kingdom is in a high state of prosperity, notwithstanding, and indeed in consequence of, its very moderate scale of duties.

“ Notwithstanding the immense losses which the Dutch nation sustained for upwards of twenty years by British captures, French exactions, and the almost entire prostration of commerce, yet their trade, and with it their national importance, appear to have become equal, or nearly equal, to what they were before the war of 1793. Their capital city, Amsterdam, has again become the chief mart of Europe. If the policy of any of the European nations is proper to be imitated by the United States, why is not the example of the United Provinces, as regards their fiscal concerns, as worthy of imitation as that of England? At least seeing that, in Holland, her citizens have, for the most part, been left to themselves in the direction of their industry, ought we not to pause before we decide that an opposite system will promote and extend the prosperity of our citizens? How little the Dutch commercial policy has been directed by the protecting system, may appear by the low duties on the following articles, most of which come in competition with their own produce and manufactures, viz.

“ Arms, fire	-	-	10 per ct.
“ Baskets	-	-	15 per ct.
“ Butter	-	-	$\frac{1}{2}$ ct. per lb.
“ Books, bound	-	-	5 per ct.
unbound	-	-	3 per ct.
“ Bristles and brushes			10 per ct.
“ Blankets	-	-	10 per ct.
“ Cheese, foreign	-	-	80 cts. per 100 lb.
“ Cordage	-	-	2 dol. per 100 lb.
“ Carriages, new	-	-	10 per ct.
“ Clocks	-	-	10 per ct.
“ Copper manufactures	-	-	10 per ct.
“ Candles, tallow	-	-	$2\frac{1}{2}$ cts. per lb.
“ Clothes, ready made	-	-	10 per ct.
“ Cotton	-	-	16 cts. per 100 lb.
manufactures	-	-	30 flor. per 100 lb.
about	-	-	2 to 3 cts. per yd.
“ Cloths, woollen, and other manufac-			
tures, wool and worsted	-	-	8 per ct.
“ Linens, unbleached			2 per ct.
bleached	-	-	4 per ct.
“ Sail cloth	-	-	2 per ct.
“ Sugar, raw or clayed	-	-	12 cts. per 100 lb.
refined	-	-	4 cts. per lb.

" Sealing wax	-	-	10 per ct.
" Spirits pay no duty, but an excise, " which, for common proof, (probably " our 5d proof,) is	-	-	28 cts. per gal.
" Ditto, highest proof	-	-	42 cts. per gal.
" Wine of all kinds	-	-	16 cts. per gal.
" Tobacco, manufactured, snuff, &c.			8 per ct.
" Toys, turnery, manufactures of wood " and leather, necklaces, looking- " glasses, trunks, snuff, and tobacco " boxes, fans, with a great variety of " similar articles	-	-	6 per ct.

Foreign vessels.

" Teas, Bohea, and Congo	-	3 dols.	20 cts. per 100 lb.
other	-	6 dols.	40 cts. per 100 lb.

Dutch vessels.

" Teas, Bohea, and Congo	-	100 cts.	per 100 lb.
other	-	200 cts.	per 100 lb.

" This extract is from the tariff of Dutch duties for the year 1816, every article of which, with very few exceptions, is rated about in proportion to those quoted above. Most of them, as is well known, are manufactured or produced in Holland, especially butter and cheese, of which the amount of exports, some years since, was, to the best of my recollection, about three millions sterling. Their sugar refineries are only protected by a duty of 4 cents a pound ; yet Ricard affirms, that in his time, (about forty years since,) there were 100 refineries, which manufactured 100,000 hogsheads of sugar. Tobacco is very extensively manufactured in Holland. Gin, as every one knows, is one of their great staples."*

The reporter pays a tribute of applause to the policy of Holland, at the expense of the nations which pursue the restrictive system.

" This wise nation," says he, " seems to have thought that goodness of quality and cheapness of price, were firmer foundations for national industry to rest on, than protecting duties."

* Report of the Committee on Agriculture, on the memorial of the delegates of the United Agricultural Societies of sundry counties in the State of Virginia. Read, Feb. 2, 1821.

What inference is to be drawn from the fact "*about forty years since*, there were one hundred sugar refineries, which manufactured 100,000 hogsheads of sugar," it is difficult to decide. The existing tariff is of quite modern date, and no inference for or against it can be drawn from the state of affairs "*forty years since*."

If Holland were really as prosperous as the writer asserts—if her prosperity were not "a mere day-dream," a "beau ideal," it must be granted that the case of this industrious nation was most felicitously quoted; that it would afford a very respectable support to the elaborate theory of the report; that the policy of the friends of an increase of the tariff, however upright their views might be, is unsound; and that the existing duties, instead of being increased, ought to be considerably reduced.

But unfortunately for this worthy gentleman, and fatally for his argument, his assumptions are utterly destitute of foundation. The situation of Holland is diametrically opposite to the very flattering picture he has drawn. Her case recoils on him with irresistible force, and cuts up his theory by the roots. Her deleterious tariff, enacted in the same year as ours and that of France, has produced in Holland even worse consequences than ours has done in the United States. From its date Holland has been gradually decaying. Her wealth, like ours, has been drained away to support foreign industry—one ninth part of her population is deprived of employment, and obliged to depend on charity for support. The remainder are straitened in their circumstances, and obliged to curtail their consumption of luxuries, and even of necessities—her revenue, like ours, is, in consequence, fast diminishing. To cap the climax of her calamities, her statesmen, instead of cutting off the source of the evil, are about to supply their financial deficiencies by a most oppressive and pernicious excise on flour and butchers' meat, the former to be collected at the mills,

and the latter at the slaughter-houses ! To secure the collection of the first, it is proposed to oblige the people to destroy their private mills, and to have the grain ground at public establishments.

So much for the case of Holland, adduced with such exultation and triumph in support of doctrines, which it is calculated to sweep away forever with the besom of destruction.

On the 27th of June, 1821, there was a very valuable work published at Brussels, of which the title is, “ *Considérations sur le projet du nouveau système financier du royaume de Pays-Bas.*” It presents a most gloomy picture of the state of Holland, which, had he seen it in season, might have saved Mr. G. from committing himself and the committee of agriculture, in the above report, by statements the reverse of the fact, which, I trust and believe, he and they will, as they ought, most sincerely regret.

From this work, I annex a few extracts :—

“ Our people are in the most unfortunate situation for want of work; as it appears, from authentic documents, submitted to the States general, that *one ninth part of the most industrious nation in the world, passionately devoted to labour, is reduced to the abject state of mendicity, or to solicit aid to support their existence; that a still more numerous part, the middle and working class, is circumscribed to the consumption of mere necessities; and that manufactures and commerce being in a languishing condition, the profits of persons who follow those two branches of industry, are insignificant.*”*

* “ Loin d’être dans l’aisance, le peuple est dans la position a plus malheureuse, par le défaut de travail ; puisqu’il constate, par des documens authentiques, remis aux états généraux, *que la neuvième partie de la nation la plus industrielle de l’univers, et qui aime le travail avec passion, est réduite à l’état abject de mendiant, ou à besoin de réclamer des secours pour subsister; qu’une partie plus nombreuse encore (la classe ouvrière et moyenne) est réduite au plus strict nécessaire; que les manufactures et le commerce étant languissans, le gain des personnes qui exploitent ces deux branches d’industrie, est presque nul.*” *Considerations sur le projet*

Here is a most wonderful contrast to the flowery descriptions of the happiness and prosperity of Holland, so captivately portrayed by Mr. Garnet, to induce us to copy her beneficent example. Instead of presenting allurements to follow in her train, she stands a beacon to warn other nations to shun the rocks and quicksands on which her quacking statesmen have so lamentably shipwrecked the happiness and prosperity of "*the most industrious nation in the world, passionately devoted to labour.*" The United States are under great obligations to Mr. Garnet for citing her case, as it has brought her fatal policy and its deleterious consequences fairly into view, and will enable our statesmen to decide, by the talisman of incontrovertible facts, on the merits or demerits of the wire-drawn theories that are pressed on the public with so much zeal.

The writer ascribes all the calamities of the country, and among others, "the fall of real estate one third," to the enactment of the "murderous tariff of 1816."*

"It is the tariff of 1816, which has opened the door to the productions of foreign industry. *From that period, there has been a constant deficiency in our finances; because the working classes, deprived of wages, have been obliged to diminish their consumption of the articles subject to the excise and impost—and because the manufacturers, the merchants, and the traders, deprived of the profit which they derived from the disbursement of the most part of these wages, have likewise been obliged to diminish their consumption.*

"It is since 1816, that the ninth part of the nation is reduced either to mendicity, or to require assistance [for support].

"It is since 1816, that manufactures and commerce have declined with giant strides :

de loi, concernant le nouveau système financier du royaume des Pays-bas.—A Bruxelles, 27 Juin, 1821, page 29.

* "*Les tarifs meurtriers de 1816.*" Idem, page 32.

“ It is since 1816, that the metallic medium of the nation has been lavished to pay tribute to foreign industry.

“ This disappearance of the specie is most perniciously felt by the reduction of the price of houses, which, except in Brussels and the Hague, *have fallen, since that period, more than one third*; an irrefragable proof of the impoverishment of the nation; for if our resources were the same as formerly, houses would still command the same price.”*

The tariff, so much applauded by Mr. Garnet, has produced the most ruinous consequences to the breweries and the distilleries of Holland; and almost annihilated the important manufacture of lace, formerly a source of immense wealth to the nation. Other manufactures have shared the same fate.

“ It is ascertained *that the immense number of breweries and distilleries, which formerly existed in both parts of the kingdom, have undergone prodigious diminution.*”†

The writer states that the wages of the labouring women, when employed in agriculture, were formerly

* “ Ce sont les tarifs de 1816, qui ont ouvert l’entrée aux produits de l’industrie étrangère. Depuis cette époque, le déficit n’a pas cessé de régner dans nos finances; parce que la classe ouvrière, privée de son salaire, a été obligée de diminuer sa consommation en denrées soumises aux droits des accises et des douanes; parce que les manufacturiers, les négocians, et les marchands en détail, privés du bénéfice qu’ils faisaient sur la plus grande partie de ce salaire, ont dû aussi restreindre leur consommation.

“ C’est depuis 1816, que *les manufactures et le commerce ont décliné à pas de géant*;

“ C’est depuis 1816, que *le numéraire national a été prodigué pour payer des tributs à l’industrie étrangère.*

“ La disparition du numéraire se fait sentir, et même d’une manière grave, par la baisse de la valeur de la propriété bâtie, *qui est tombée depuis cette époque, de plus d’un tier, à l’exception de celle des villes de Bruxelles et de la Haye*; preuve évidente de l’appauvrissement de la nation; car si elle avait encore les mêmes moyens, les maisons se vendraient au même prix qu’autrefois.” Idem, pp. 37, 38.

† “ D’abord il est reconnu, que le nombre immense de brasseries et de distilleries qu’il y avait jadis dans les deux parties du royaume, est immensément diminué.” Idem, p. 31.

eight to ten sous per day—that they were able to devote about one hundred days in the year to spinning, making lace, &c.; and that the effect of the low tariff had been to crush this manufacture, and to lower the wages one half.

“Since the tariff of 1816 has permitted the entry of Scotch stockings and thules under light duties—and since the English thules *have almost annihilated our flourishing fabrics of lace, there is good reason to believe, that those poor women earn at present but four sous per day.*”*

The deficiency of the revenue of Holland for 1818,
 was no less than Florins, 6,500,000†
 Equal to about \$2,600,000

To be provided for by loans or a sale of the national territory, proportioned to the deficiency.†

The deficiency in 1819, was Florins, 4,756,152‡
 Equal to about \$1,960,000

The advocates of Adam Smith's doctrines, affect to despise tables—balances of trade—and facts—to which they rarely refer; but when they do adduce them, as in this case of Holland, they generally operate to overturn their system: and never was there a more unfortunate attempt at propping up a tottering scheme of policy, than appears in this instance.

The contrast between the policy and actual situation of France on one side, and Holland and the United States, on the other, is strong and striking. France with an unwinking eye, watches over the prosperity of her manufactures. She excludes whatever

* “Depuis que les tarifs de 1816, ont permis l'entrée des bas et tulles d'Ecosse, moyennant de faibles droits, et que les tulles Anglais ont presque anéanti nos belles fabriques de dentelles, nous avons de fortes raisons de croire que ces pauvres ouvrières gagnent tout au plus à présent quatre sols par jour.”—Idem, p. 5.

† A couvrir par voie d'emprunt, ou par une vente proportionnée de domaines de l'état.” Annuaire historique, ou histoire politique et littéraire de l'année 1818, page 254.

‡ Idem, pour l'année 1819, page 349.

can injure them. She is not afraid of extortion, which is fully guarded against by competition. She is in consequence highly prosperous and happy. In Holland and the United States, the object of the tariff is principally revenue. Manufacturers, on the brink of ruin, have here cried aloud for protection. They cried in vain. Congress was blind, and deaf, and dumb to their sufferings, and spent its time for weeks together in miserable debates, in which the same arguments were reiterated over and over, on compensation acts, Seminole wars, and Missouri questions, without deigning to read or report on the petitions. Impoverishment and desolation in consequence of the never-enough-to-be-deplored neglect of the dangers and sufferings of the citizens, spread through the land. Real estate fell, exactly as in Holland, almost every where one third. The farmers, too numerous for the demands of the domestic and foreign markets, underwent intense suffering through the superabundance of the fruits of the earth. The finances finally failed. Loans were repeated—and all the splendid promises of the sinking fund ended in smoke.

These admonitory facts ought to settle this important question forever. England and France have tried the restrictive system in its fullest extent. They have derived from it boundless wealth and resources. It has enabled the former to hold in check the most formidable power Europe has beheld for 500 years, and finally to lay that power prostrate. It has enabled the latter to overcome in a few years the most severe distress as well as the most oppressive exactions. That England has prodigally lavished her resources, and entailed enormous evils on her population, no more proves that her system was not the true road to "the wealth of nations," than the case of an individual, who carried on a gainful commerce, but ruined himself by prodigality, would prove that his commerce was not profitable.

No writer has inveighed more bitterly against pay-

ing attention to the balance of trade, than Mr. Cambreleng. Of his denunciations, often repeated, I give a specimen :—

“ Of all the bodies which revolve in the systems of political economy, not one has presented itself in so many different shapes as this same capricious “ balance of trade :”—and no where, so much as in this devoted land, has it appeared with *the fiery and bloody features of a comet, followea by its trail of war, earthquakes, and famine.*”—Examination, page 125.

What Mr. Cambreleng means by attaching “ *the fiery and bloody features of a comet*” and a “ *trail of war, earthquakes and famine,*” to the inquiries into, and stress laid on, “ the balance of trade,” it is not easy, nor very important, to discover. These elegant figures are peculiarly appropriate in a sober discussion on political economy, and reflect honour on the judgment as well as on the lively imagination of the author ! It cannot, however, be denied, that to ascertain the balance of trade for or against a nation *with critical accuracy*, is impossible, nor is critical exactness necessary. A near approximation to the truth is sufficient. Even a merchant engaged in a very extensive and complicated trade, may sometimes find it very difficult to state the precise balance of that trade. But a very moderate supervision of his books will enable him to ascertain which way the balance inclines, whether favourably or otherwise. Thus it is with nations. It can be readily ascertained whether they buy or sell most. This is the grand point to be decided. When a nation buys more than it sells, it is invariably distressed and embarrassed. To pay the difference between its sales and purchases, it is obliged, as we have been in 1816, 17, 18, and 19, to export its specie. This creates a general stagnation of business. The price of every article falls.—The working classes are thrown out of employment. Their employers are bankrupted. Distress and poverty pervade the land. The finances fail, as already fully

stated, in consequence of the general impoverishment, whereby people are unable to purchase as formerly those articles on the consumption of which the revenue depends.

Can any man doubt that Holland formerly had, and that England at present has, a balance in her favour in the trade with the world at large?—that the balance has been for a century against Spain, Portugal and Ireland—or that it was against the United States in 1784, 5, 6, 7 & 8—and in 1815, 16, 17, 18 & 19? And Mr. Cambreleng to the contrary notwithstanding, it is one of the most important duties of a government, to guard against an unfavourable balance of trade, the fruitful source of national impoverishment, with all its “*fiery and bloody features*” of misery and distress.

CHAPTER V.

Prosperous state of the nation after the war. Mr. Madison's recommendation of protection to manufactures. Mr. Dallas's tariff. Outcry against the pretended extortion of manufacturers. Reduction of the tariff. Calamitous consequences.

The sketches given in the preceding chapters, of the policy of England, France, and Holland—of the operation of that policy—and of the actual state of those nations, with the causes which have produced the calamitous scenes exhibited in the first and last, and the high degree of prosperity of the second, are so striking, and militate so strongly against the plausible theories of free and unrestrained trade, that I hope such of the readers of these pages as have been zealous advocates of that trade, will at least seriously reconsider the subject. It is well worth while to re-

flect how far the support of a system, contradicted by the experience of some of the first nations on the globe, and unsupported by that of any nation whatever, of extensive population, is compatible with the use of reason and common sense.

I proceed, according to my purpose, to take a view of the policy pursued by this country since the peace, which has blighted the energies and prosperity of a nation, blest with advantages, natural, moral, and political, never exceeded, and subject to fewer disadvantages, probably, than any other nation in the world.

We closed the war, as I have already stated, with distinguished honour, and, with the exception of a few parts of the country, ravaged by the enemy, in a high state of prosperity. Every person in the nation, disposed to useful industry, was fully employed. An immense sum, probably from 90 to 100,000,000 of dollars, was invested in manufactures and manufacturing establishments, which had made the most extraordinary progress during the war. And such were the energy and enterprise of our citizens, and such the immense impetus afforded by the unrestrained exercise of industry, that without having ever received a single dollar of bounty, or premium from the government, or any privilege or immunity whatever, they had arrived in two or three years at a degree of prosperity, which had cost England, France, Prussia, and other countries, at least half a century, and immoderate sums, bestowed in bounties and premiums, besides various immunities and privileges. The world has perhaps never before witnessed such a rapid progress in the same space of time, and at so little expense to the government of the country where it occurred.

Those who may be disposed to regard the estimate of 90 to 100,000,000 of dollars as too high, are referred to the reports of the committee of commerce and manufactures in 1816, wherein it is stated, on information received by that committee, that there were 60,000,000 of dollars invested in the cotton and wool-

len manufactures alone. But even if the amount be overrated, it does not affect the question. It is sufficient for the purpose that the capital thus invested was immense, and embraced a large portion of what had previously been employed in commerce, which would otherwise have lain dormant during the war.

There is one point of view in which the progress made, is truly astonishing, and highly creditable to the undertakers. Their operations were commenced under great difficulties, and various discouraging disadvantages, of the most serious character. The estimates of the expenses of their establishments, were frequently so far below the actual cost, that in many cases, they were unfortunately obliged, after having exhausted their capitals, to borrow largely from banks. Notwithstanding the immense number of sites for the erection of mills, the owners sold them at most extravagant prices. Skilful mechanists were scarce, and hired their services and talents at equally extravagant rates. Experienced workmen were almost as scarce, and of course could not be had but at very high wages. Raw materials rose most exorbitantly. To avoid much detail, I shall confine myself to the single article of Merino wool, which is a tolerable specimen of the whole. In May, 1812, before the declaration of war, it was sold at 75 cents per pound—but in the course of 1813 and 1814, it rose to three and four dollars—as may be seen in Grotjan's Philadelphia Price Current, to which the reader is referred: in one word, almost every person in the nation, with whom the manufacturers had to deal, took advantage of their necessities, and made them pay most extravagant prices.

All these oppressive and overwhelming disadvantages they successfully struggled against, and by a most laudible perseverance and energy overcame. At the close of the war, they were “in the full tide of successful experiment.” Had it continued another year or two, or had government afforded manufactures

adequate protection at its close, they would have taken such deep root as to be able to withstand the attacks of foreign rivals.

Having proved so useful in time of war, they were fairly entitled to be fostered and protected after its close. This idea had been held out during the war by the constituted authorities ; and some years previously, Mr. Gallatin had issued a circular, calling for information as to the best means of promoting manufactures, and giving strong reasons to induce a belief, that government seriously intended to foster and promote this important branch of national industry.

The President of the United States, Mr. Madison, in his message at the opening of the first session of the fifteenth congress, Dec. 5, 1816, presented the subject to that body in cogent terms, as demanding their serious attention.

“ In adjusting the duties on imports to the objects of revenue, *the influence of the tariff on manufactures will necessarily present itself for consideration.* However wise the theory may be, which leaves to the sagacity and interest of individuals the application of their industry and resources, there are in this, as in other cases, exceptions to the general rule. Besides the condition which the theory itself implies, of *a reciprocal adoption by other nations*, experience teaches that so many circumstances must concur in introducing and maturing manufacturing establishments, especially of the more complicated kinds, that *a country may remain long without them, although sufficiently advanced, and in some respects even peculiarly fitted for carrying them on with success.*

“ Under circumstances giving a powerful impulse to manufacturing industry, it has made among us a progress and exhibited an efficiency, which justify the belief, that *with a protection not more than is due to the enterprising citizens whose interests are now at stake*, it will become, at an early day, not only safe against occasional competitors from abroad, but a source of domestic wealth and even of external commerce. In selecting the branches more especially entitled to the public patronage, a preference is obviously claimed by *such as will relieve the United States from dependence on foreign supplies*, ever

“subject to casual failures, for articles necessary for public defence, or connected with the primary wants of individuals. It will be an additional recommendation of particular manufactures, when *the materials for them are extensively drawn from our agriculture*, and consequently impart and ensure to that great fund of national prosperity and independence, an encouragement which cannot fail to be rewarded.”

To these admirable views of a grand national subject, entitled, from their justice, as well as from the respectable quarter whence they emanated, to great weight, no attention was paid by congress, as will subsequently appear.

In this session, Mr. Dallas, secretary of the treasury, reported a tariff, the adoption of which would have afforded tolerable protection to the chief of our manufactures. He had bestowed great attention on the subject—and had invited communications from almost every quarter of the union, in order to enable him to do justice to it, and to the duties of his office. The tariff he proposed, therefore, claimed a high degree of attention—but received very little from congress—who cut and carved it most unmercifully. The rates were reduced, 10, 20, 25, 35, and 50 per cent. on many important articles. Thus, fine cotton goods, on which Mr. Dallas recommended a duty of 33 per cent. were reduced to 25—pottery, earthen and glass ware from 30 to 20—printing types from 35 to 20—printed books from 35 to 15, &c. &c.

This pernicious and destructive measure, to which may be traced four fifths of the calamities and distresses this nation has suffered since that period, was greatly facilitated by a base and calumnious clamour excited against the manufacturers on the ground of extortion said to have been practised during the war. This groundless charge was aided in its progress by those who were hostile to manufactures and manufacturers, from self interest or prejudice. It was reverberated from New Hampshire to Georgia, and from the

Atlantic to the Mississippi, and formed no small portion of many a dull and long-winded harangue in congress—and as dull and long-winded essays in newspapers.

Although fortunately the odium it excited was not as sanguinary or piratical in its effects, as the outcry occasionally raised in “olden time” against the Jews, to warrant a projected confiscation and massacre; or against the knights templars, previous to the horrible proscription of which they were the victims; it as effectually answered the purpose intended, that is, to prevent the objects against whom it was directed from obtaining adequate protection. Against such clamours reason has in every age raised her voice in vain. It is too feeble to be heard amidst the bellowings of prejudice, passion, infatuation, and hatred.

If any thing could render this calumny more shocking and disgraceful, it was, that the merchants, about this period, and for the preceding twelve months, sold their goods at most exorbitant and unprecedented advances—and that the prices of agricultural productions were then likewise exorbitantly high in the U. States.

Tobacco, throughout the year 1816, ave-

raged, per hogshead,	-	-	\$185.00*
Flour, per barrel,	-	-	10.00†
Sea Island Cotton, per pound,	-	-	.47‡
Upland,	-	-	.27‡

What can be conceived more revolting than citizens selling tobacco at 185 dollars per hogshead, cotton at 27 cents per pound, and flour at 10 dollars per barrel, while they were cruelly legislating their unfortunate brethren to irretrievable destruction, on the sorry and contemptible pretext of extortion, because they had raised the price of woollen goods, for instance, fifty or sixty per cent,§ when the raw material was

* Pitkin's Statistics, page 131.

† Idem, page 112.

‡ Idem, page 133.

§ I confine myself to woollen goods, merely because this article is a more tangible one—and more subject to the talisman of figures. Almost every other article would equally confirm the doctrines here advanced.

advanced three or four hundred per cent, by the very men who sounded the alarm of extortion—sites for manufactories five hundred per cent—workmanship one hundred—and when most enormous expenses had been incurred for establishments to carry on the manufacture?*

At this session of congress the manufacturers had a number of agents at the seat of government to plead their cause, and to prove the necessity of guarding their establishments, then in their infancy, against the overwhelming advantages possessed by their foreign rivals. These explanations were of the most cogent and irresistible nature, and pointed out, “with a pencil of light,” the national impoverishment and distress that must necessarily follow, and have since followed, from the sacrifice of so large a portion of the industry of the country devoted to manufactures, as would fall a victim to the system, the enactment of which they deprecated. Many of the members of congress, likewise, whose views were luminous and profound, zealously contended for the adoption of Mr. Dallas’s tariff. But it was all in vain. The deadly hostility against the “extortionate manufacturers” was as immovable and relentless as the Peak of Teneriffe.

The importations in 1815 and 1816, were carried to a most extravagant extent, and amounted, as nearly as can be estimated, to about one hundred and eighty millions of dollars. The duties that accrued in these two years were about sixty four millions. On this wonderful increase of revenue some of our statesmen sang “*Io pæans*,” as if we were about to realize a financial and commercial millennium. The payment of the national debt in a few years was among the exploits they were to accomplish. Some of them were so very sanguine as to believe that the treasury would

* The destructive effects of this calumny entitle it to a further discussion. See Chap. IX.

overflow so fast that it would be difficult to find employment for the national wealth.

This delirium, which a year or two in ordinary seasons, would have entirely dispelled, was continued beyond its natural time of existence, by a concurrence of circumstances, which it may be proper to develop.

Notwithstanding the great accession to the agricultural class in Europe, by disbanding the gigantic armies—those *fruges consumere nati*—who had for years ravaged that fairest portion of the globe—the crops fell short in that quarter, for two or three years after the peace. The British ports were open to our bread stuffs till November, 1817. Hence this important staple continued at very high rates till the year 1818.

The supply of tobacco in Europe at the close of the war was very small—and the exportations of 1815, 16, and 17, being moderate, this staple maintained a high price for those years.

The importation of cotton into Great Britain, during our war, had greatly decreased—as will appear from the following comparison of two successive periods, of three years each.

	bales.
1809, . . .	440,382
1810, . . .	561,175
1811, . . .	326,231
	—————1,327,788
1812, . . .	261,205
1813, . . .	249,536
1814, . . .	287,631
	————— 798,372

The stock on hand, therefore, at the close of 1814, was only 80,600 bales—and although the importations in the succeeding years greatly increased, as will appear from this statement:—

	bales.
1815, . . .	370,000
1816, . . .	371,400
1817, . . .	477,160
	—————1,218,560.

yet the consumption so completely kept pace with the supply, that there were on hand, at the close of the year 1816, only 76,600 bales, and at that of 1817, only 114,600. High prices were therefore maintained.

These circumstances greatly enhanced the value of our exportations, and, I repeat, prevented the ruinous consequences of our tariff from developing themselves as early as they would otherwise have done.

—1817.—

In this year, bankruptcy and ruin spread more generally among the manufacturers. Some of them, enjoying very particular advantages in respect of capital, situation, &c. were able to withstand the shock, but with impaired fortunes. The most pathetic appeals were made to congress, from all the manufacturing districts of the nation, but, as I have already stated, wholly in vain.

The bank of the United States in this year commenced the importation of specie, of which it introduced into the country \$7,311,750, at an expense of \$525,927, in order to facilitate the operations of the institution. But it was just equally successful with the attempt of the Danaides, to draw off the water of a deep well, with a sieve. As fast as the specie arrived, it was re-shipped, to pay the enormous balance against the United States, and to purchase merchandise in India and China, the great gulfs of the specie of the western world.* With this specie went a large portion of that which was in the country at the close of the war† : and such was the pressure on the bank

* The importation of specie from the United States into China alone in three years, amounted to above 17,000,000, viz.

1816-17,	\$ 4,572,000
17-18,	5,300,000
18-19,	7,414,000

\$ 17,286,000‡

† On the 1st of July, 1814, five banks in the town of Boston, had no less than \$5,468,604 dollars in specie in their vaults.

‡ Report of a select committee of the House of Lords, 1821, page 93.

of the United States for specie, that it was obliged, in the following August, to cease receiving the notes of its branches.

Flour averaged per barrel, in 1817,	\$ 12.00*
Tobacco, per hogshead, - - -	148.00*
Sea Island Cotton, per pound, ' -	.40*
Upland Cotton, - - - - -	.26 1-2*

This flourishing state of agriculture deprived the farmers and planters in congress of an apology which has been since employed to extenuate their disregard of the distresses of their fellow-citizens—I mean the depression which has lately taken place in the price of all these articles, whereby they suffer nearly as much as the manufacturers.

It is perfectly obvious, that a farmer who sold his flour at twelve dollars per barrel—or a planter who sold tobacco at one hundred and forty-eight dollars per hogshead, or cotton at twenty-six and a half cents per pound, could well afford, without any great pretensions to extraordinary liberality, to pay a trifle extra for the manufactures of his fellow-citizens, who gave him such extravagant prices for his produce, more especially as the farmers and planters had the exclusive supply of the domestic market. And their obduracy on this point, will remain an indelible stigma on the successive congresses to whom the fruitless applications were made.

Surely, as the farmers and planters had the exclusive supply of their fellow-citizens, it would not have been unreasonable, had the latter demanded even the exclusive market for their own productions. This stipulation, extraordinary as it may seem, would be nothing more than a mere reciprocation of benefits. But no such arrangement was proposed or expected. All that was required was, that they should be protected in the enjoyment of a due share of the domestic market.

* Report of the Secretary of the Treasury.

—1818.—

Flour and cotton this year maintained high prices.

Flour averaged per barrel, \$10.00†

Sea Island cotton per lb. .59†

Upland cotton, .32†

But a very considerable increase in the quantity of tobacco exported, produced a great reduction of the price of that article. It fell from 148 dollars to 116 dollars per hogshead. The quantity exported in 1817, viz. 62,365 hogsheads, produced \$9,230,020—whereas 84,337 hogsheads, exported in 1818, produced only 9,867,429 dollars.

However, the price of tobacco, as well as those of the other great staples, were still sufficiently high to warrant the farmers and planters to make some sacrifices to rescue their brethren from ruin. But their hearts were closed against their claims.

Calculations were made in and out of congress, to prove that the protection of manufactures was amply adequate. All the rules of arithmetic were pressed into the service for this purpose. And to hear the debates on the subject, one might be tempted to believe, that the manufacturers became bankrupts, and had their property sacrificed for a fourth or fifth of its cost, merely out of waywardness and spite, in order to belie the profound calculations of these wise arithmeticians.

But unfortunately, those great political economists only took into view the prices at which merchandise could be introduced into the country by regular importers, able and willing to pay for it. They never condescended to consider the immense quantities of foreign goods forced into our ports through the necessities or the cupidity of foreign merchants, and sold at vendue, below first cost, whereby our markets were inordinately glutted, and our own citizens excluded from a fair chance of sale in their native country.

† Treasury Report, 1818.

—1819.—

This year capped the climax of the distress of the manufacturers, and spread ruin and desolation in every direction. There is reason to believe that from 90 to 100,000 workmen were actually thrown idle, in this and the preceding two years, and either driven to labour at agriculture in the country—or on the highways. In many cases they worked on the turnpike roads at the rate of 12 cents per day, and their victuals. The number thrown out of employment in Pittsburg, Philadelphia, and in the state of Rhode Island, was as follows :—

Philadelphia, about	persons, 11,288
Pittsburg, -	- 1,288
Rhode Island, -	- 11,337
	23,725

The devastation elsewhere was on the same scale—but, not possessing details, I cannot form any satisfactory estimate.

Flour and cotton fell considerably this year—but still supported prices which amply compensated for the labour bestowed on them.

Flour averaged per barrel,	-	\$8.00*
Sea Island cotton,	-	.46*
Upland cotton,	-	.22*

The reduction of the cotton was above thirty per cent. since last year—and spread ruin among the planters and exporters of the article. The former had predicated their expenses on the old prices, and felt their incomes at once reduced nearly one third, equal to about 7,000,000 of dollars. The latter had made immense purchases at the high rates, and it is computed lost about 4,000,000 of dollars.

Tobacco fell to \$110 per hogshead—and the reduction during this and the preceding year, made dreadful havoc among many of the most estimable and respectable families in Virginia.

* Report of the Secretary of the Treasury.

—1820.—

This year produced further reductions in the prices of the three great staples of the nation—and brought home to the doors of the farmers and planters a portion of the distress which, with an unpitied eye, they had for years beheld raging among their brethren.

Flour per barrel averaged	\$ 4.50*
Tobacco per hogshead,	95.00*
Sea Island cotton per lb.	.32*
Upland,	.16*

The reduction of the last article was full fifty per cent. from the year 1818.

Thus has this nation, at the expense of probably from 100 to 150,000,000 of dollars—and of an incalculable amount of human happiness, realized the admonitory fable of the belly and the members. The farmers and planters were excited by artful or misguided men to regard their brethren with as deadly a jealousy as the people of rival nations feel for each other. In many cases, it was carried to the extreme length of indignation and hatred.† They flattered themselves with the idea of deriving immense advantages from “purchasing goods abroad cheaper than they could be manufactured at home.” And having the legislation in their own hands, they shut their ears against the cries, and their hearts against the suffer-

* Report of the secretary of the treasury.

† The rancorous spirit displayed by some members of congress, at the time when the tariff of 1816, was enacted, is scarcely credible. One gentleman, remarkable for his intrepid disregard of the common forms of society, in his interminable and amusingly-diversified orations, after a long and desultory harangue, of which the burden was—“extortion—extortion—extortion”—made a solemn asseveration, that he not only never would wear, but not even allow any of his slaves to wear a yard of American cloth. This amiable gentleman, so indignant at the extortion of the manufacturers, sold his crop of tobacco that very year at thirty cents per lb. “Thou hypocrite,” says Jesus Christ, “first take the beam out of thine own eye, and then thou shalt see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother’s eye.” Matt. vii. 5.

ings of their fellow citizens. Of the chalice of wretchedness which they presented to the lips of their brethren, they, particularly the farmers, have drunk deeply. Happy, thrice happy will it be, if even at this late day, they profit by the warning example which they hold out to mankind, that illiberality and injustice generally recoil on the heads of those by whom they are perpetrated.

The shrewd policy of the Dutch in destroying the superfluous quantity of spices in years when the crops were very abundant,—has been a subject of admiration, as displaying a thorough knowledge of human nature and of the principles of trade. The conduct of our agriculturists has been in direct hostility with this policy, and severely have they suffered for it. The depression of manufactures, in consequence of their successful opposition to affording them adequate protection, has greatly increased the number of farmers, and consequently the productions of the earth, and converted valuable customers into formidable rivals.

The preceding views afford two striking illustrations of this position. I have already noted the case of the increase, and consequent fall of price of tobacco in 1818—and now request attention to that of flour in 1820. In 1817, 1818, and 1819, as I have already stated, there were about 100,000 manufacturers thrown out of employment, chiefly in the last year. Many of them went back to cultivate the soil, and thus greatly increased the surplus for exportation in 1820. Mark the result—

In 1819, there were only 750,660 barrels of	
flour exported, which produced,	\$6,005,280*
In 1820, the exportation amounted to 1,177,036	
barrels, which produced only	\$5,296,664*

The quantity was increased above fifty per cent.—and the amount reduced above ten per cent.

There are two points in this case that appear deserving of the most serious consideration. The first

* See Reports of the Secretary of the Treasury.

is, that the extra quantity in 1820, of 420,000 barrels, was very probably raised by the number of manufacturers driven to agriculture, so perniciously for the farmers. And the second, that had the quantity exported in 1820 not exceeded that of the preceding year, it would probably have commanded as high a price, viz. eight dollars, instead of selling at four and a half.

The reduction of price, three and a half dollars per barrel, amounting to above \$2,600,000, was not the total loss to the farming interest. The reduction extended to the whole quantity sold at home, probably 8,000,000 of barrels, making a further difference to that interest of \$28,000,000.



CHAPTER VI.

Very erroneous idea entertained of the tariffs of the United States. Decisive protection of agriculture. Disregard of manufactures. Shocking contrast.

An idea prevails pretty generally throughout the United States, among the agriculturists, that from the adoption of the federal constitution till the present time, manufactures have experienced the fostering care of government, and been protected by extravagant duties; that those duties have borne oppressively on the farmers and planters, “*taxing the many for the benefit of the few* ;” and finally, that there is no reciprocity in the system, as the fruits of the earth have not been protected by duties.

Errors on topics of this importance, are liable to produce jealousies and heart-burnings between members of the same common family. It is therefore a

duty to society to investigate the subject, and ascertain on what ground those opinions rest.

I hope to make it satisfactorily appear, that they are not only not true, but the very reverse of truth—and that agriculture, at the outset of the government, has had, and still continues to enjoy, far better protection than manufactures.

I shall present a slight view of the first tariff, and then examine the one at present in force.

At the date of the first tariff, cotton was fifteen pence sterling in Jamaica and the other West India islands.* This is exactly 27.66 cents. The duty imposed on it—not, let it be observed, to protect an existing industry, but merely in the hope, then fondly cherished, and since so very happily realized, that our southern citizens would be able to raise it—was three cents, very nearly *eleven per cent*. Now the duty on cotton goods of every kind, imposed by that tariff, was only *five per cent*. Thus at the very threshold of the government, a bulky raw material, subject probably to seven or eight per cent. freight, was tariffed above one hundred per cent. higher, to encourage the agriculturists to commence a new species of cultivation, than the article manufactured from it, of which the freight was probably not one per cent. and the manufacture of which had been some time in operation. This is a most striking instance of partiality and inequality, very discreditable to the first congress. So far, therefore, the general impression on this subject, is utterly destitute of foundation.

On hemp was imposed a duty of sixty cents per cwt. equal to about *twelve per cent*. whereas manufactures of hemp, like those of cotton, were only subject to *five per cent*.

Indigo paid sixteen cents, which was about *sixteen per cent*.

The duty on cheese was four cents per lb. which was equal to about *fifty-seven per cent*.

* See Edwards's History of the West Indies, Vol. III. p. 95.

To secure the tobacco planters the exclusive supply of the domestic market, there was a duty, absolutely prohibitory, imposed on snuff and manufactured tobacco—on the former, ten cents per lb. equal to *ninety per cent.*—on the latter six cents, equal to *one hundred per cent.*

The end proposed by these extravagant duties, which were *seventeen hundred per cent.* more than on nearly every species of manufactures, was completely answered; as the importation of snuff and tobacco into this country, from the year 1789 to the present time, has been utterly insignificant. And yet it is as lamentable as astonishing, that many of the tobacco planters, thus secured in the exclusive domestic market, by most exorbitant duties, have been among the most ardent opposers of any species of reciprocation by even very moderate ones, in favour of their manufacturing brethren. Alas! poor human nature! how rarely is the divine precept—"Do unto others as you would have them do to you," carried into operation!

And finally, the interests of the farmers were most liberally guarded. To secure them a grand market in distillation for their oats, rye, peaches, apples, &c. and also to secure them one equally important for their peach brandy, rye whiskey, &c. &c. enormous duties, amounting to 60, 80, 100, and even 120 per cent. were imposed on imported spirits.

At this period the great mass of manufactured articles, probably nineteen twentieths, were, like the two above specified, *protected*, as it is absurdly styled, by the paltry duty of five per cent.

It requires no great degree of liberality for any man, whether farmer, planter, manufacturer, or merchant, who examines the preceding statement, to acknowledge—and no man of character will dare deny—that this was a most sinister legislation, partial in the extreme to the legislators themselves, and making a shameful sacrifice of the dearest interests of their fellow citizens, who had risked their lives, and shed their

blood, to establish that independence, of some of the choicest of whose blessings they were thus debarred; those blessings I mean, which are involved in the security of property and in the right of acquiring it. It adds one to the numberless instances on record, to prove that unrepresented bodies scarcely ever experience “even-handed justice” from those who legislate for them.

All the successive tariffs bear the same unerring stamp of partiality and injustice—of sacred regard for self—and sacrifice of fellow citizens. But it would extend farther than my proposed limits to prosecute the examination throughout. I shall therefore confine myself to the tariff now in existence, which presents a “most hideous contrast” in point of protection.

DUTIES FOR THE PROTECTION OF AGRICULTURE, BY THE EXISTING TARIFF.

	Per cent.		Per cent.
Muscovado sugar	100*	Gin	140
Molasses	30 to 40	Brandy	90
Dutch cheese	90	West India rum	110
English cheese	40 to 50	Jamaica rum	75
Cotton	33 to 40	Hemp	27
Manufact'd tobacco	60	Potatoes	15
Snuff	90		

DUTIES FOR THE PROTECTION OF MANUFACTURES.

At fifteen per cent.

Creas a Morlaix	Bombazets
Damasks	Sarsenets
Diaper bagging, flax	Satins
Russia diapers	Silks
German dowlas	Silk shawls
German Hessians	Canton crapes
Flax osnaburgs	Crape dresses
Brown Holland, flax	Chambray, silk and cotton
Brown rolls	Chambray gauzes
Stripes	Camlets
Brown platillas	Calimancoes
Rouans	Shalloons
German bed-ticking	Rattinets

* Muscovado sugar at the Havanna, January 20, 1822, was about three dollars per 104lb. The duty is three cents.

Globes	Wildbores
Gold leaf	Moreens
Hair powder	Bandanoes
Linen or silk gloves	Woollen blankets
Silk, thread, or flax half hose,	Manufactures of whalebone
Muffs and tippets	Table cloths, flax
Ribauds	Choppa romals
Madras handkerchiefs	Snuff boxes
Thread stockings	Starch, &c.

At twenty per cent.

Anvils	Earthen ware
Fire and side arms	China
Cannon	Westphalia, Bremen, or Eng-
Iron cables	lish sail cloth
Spades	Wool and cotton cards
Manufactures of iron, steel,	Cotton Stockings
pewter, tin, and brass	Hempen sail cloth
Candlesticks, Japanned or Li-	English duck
verpool ware	Woollen, cotton, or worsted
Stone ware	hose.
Pottery	

At twenty-five per cent.

Manufactures of copper	Fearnoughts
Cotton twist	Worsted gloves
Cotton cloths, of twenty-five	Kerseymeres
cents per square yard, or	Carpets and Carpeting
above	Cashmere shawls
Broad cloths	Swanskins.

At thirty per cent.

Manufactures of leather hats	Carriages
Clothing ready made	Cabinet-ware

Duties imposed merely for sake of revenue.

Bohea tea	120 per cent.	Coffee	40 per cent.
Salt	180		

From a view of the above extracts, it appears that the operation of the tariff is most shockingly oppressive to the poor, and equally partial in favour of the rich. If this be correct, as I hope to make appear, it is entitled to unqualified censure.

To remove all doubt on this subject, I annex a statement of imported articles, to the amount of 300 dollars, consumed by the poor and labouring classes—and of an equal amount, consumed by the rich, with the duties on each respectively.

	Cost.	Duty.
Muscovado sugar, - - -	\$100	\$ 100
Bohea tea, - - -	100	120
Salt, - - -	100	180

Cost, \$ 300 Duty, \$ 400

<i>Per contra.</i>	Cost.	Duty.
Silks, sattins, bombazets, bombazeens, sarsenets, canton crapes, &c.	\$ 100	\$ 15
China, woollen hose, elegant cutlery, girandoles, &c.	100	20
Cashmere and merino shawls, Brussels carpets, superfine broad cloths, chintzes, calicoes, &c.	100	25

Cost, \$ 300 Duty, \$ 60

Can there be found a man in the United States—or in the wide world—who can reflect on this most extraordinary statement without indignation? The duties on the articles either exclusively or chiefly used by the poor and working classes, whose sole inheritance is the labour of their hands, and who have to support themselves and families on four, five, six, or seven dollars per week, considerably exceed the first cost, even on necessities of life. Whereas the duties on articles used wholly by the middle and wealthy classes of our citizens, some of them pernicious luxuries, average only 20 per cent. of the cost. No age or nation ever witnessed a much more shameful abuse of power—a more unfeeling disregard for the rights of the poor—or a more complete violation of every principle of sound policy. The duty on one hundred dollars worth of muscovado sugar, is nearly as high as on seven hundred dollars worth of silks, sattins, bombazets, bombazines, &c. and, shocking to relate, the duty on *one hundred dollars worth of bohea tea*, is nearly equal to that on *five hundred dollars worth of superfine cloth*, *Brussels carpets*, *chintzes*, *calicoes*, &c. and the duty on *one hundred dollars worth of salt* is equal to that on *seven hundred dollars worth of those articles*.

It is a melancholy fact, that the cotton and su-

gar planters, who have amassed wealth for years, with a rapidity scarcely ever exceeded, and who are protected by enormous duties, have, nevertheless, with few exceptions, steadily resisted all the applications of their fellow citizens, not for 50, or 60, or 70 per cent. protection, but for 25, 33, or 40. I appeal to the sugar planters—such citizens as the respectable James Brown, Esq. of Louisiana—enjoying annual incomes, from 5 to 15,000 dollars per annum, under the liberal protection of a duty of one hundred per cent. on an article, the freight of which is probably thirty per cent. ; how can they justify themselves to the world and to their own consciences, in aiding to vote down a proposition to afford a protection of twenty-five per cent. to manufacturers of brass, iron, steel, linens, &c. and of thirty-three per cent. to the manufacturers of chintzes and broad cloths?

Is it not to the last degree preposterous that hemp, a raw material, should pay a duty of twenty-seven per cent.—and Russia and ravenstuck, made of hemp, pay but fifteen*—that cotton should pay a duty of 33 to 40 per cent.—and cotton stockings but twenty—and chintzes and calicoes but twenty-five—that Dutch cheese should pay ninety per cent.—and such a variety of manufactures of brass, iron, steel, &c. pay but twenty? In one word, that linens, silks, cambrics, and thread stockings, should pay only the same duty as potatoes?

I shall now attempt a brief analysis of the principal features of this tariff—

1. The articles interfering with the interests of agriculture, as cotton, spirits, cheese, hemp, tobacco, sugar, &c. for which the great freights would be almost full protection, are burdened with high, and, in many instances, exorbitant duties, from 40 to 140 per cent.

2. The articles which interfere with, paralyze, and destroy manufacturing industry, as manufactures of iron, steel, copper, brass, tin, flax, cotton, and wool,

* Old and new tariffs compared.

are admitted at low duties, from 15 to 33 per cent. as if to invite importation, for the mere purpose of revenue, without any regard to the welfare of the manufacturers.

3. On all those articles which do not interfere with the industry of the nation, either agricultural or manufacturing, as tea, coffee, pepper, spices, salt, wines, &c. the duties are generally exorbitant, from 40 to 120 per cent. notwithstanding the terrifying alarm of the awful danger of smuggling, by raising the duties on manufactures to 25 or 33 per cent.

4. Some raw materials for our most important establishments, are dutied higher than the articles manufactured from them.

5. The tariff is admirably calculated to foster the industry, and support the governments of foreign nations—to impoverish our citizens, and render them hewers of wood and drawers of water to those nations—to discourage immigration—and to arrest the United States in their career to prosperity and greatness.

6. Necessaries of life, used exclusively, or chiefly by the poor, such as muscovado sugar and bohea tea, are subject to 100 or 120 per cent. duty,—whereas luxuries, used exclusively by the middle and wealthy classes of society, as silks, satins, merino and cashmere shawls, china, fine cutlery, &c. are admitted at low duties, 15, 20 and 25 per cent.

Yet this is the miserable tariff, such an outrage on common sense, and common justice, upon which the committee on manufactures lately made a solemn report, that "*it was not necessary to legislate on the subject.*" Surely it has rarely happened that a committee of a legislative body has put on record a more unfounded declaration. For never did a tariff more fully require revision than this, almost every leading feature of which bears strong marks of partiality, injustice, or impolicy.

CHAPTER VII.

Danger of smuggling assigned as a reason for rejecting the protection of manufactures. Fallacy of it. Duties of Mr. Baldwin's tariff. Extravagant duties on spirits, wines, teas, pepper, &c.

Among the reasons assigned in and out of congress, and enforced with great zeal, against Mr. Baldwin's tariff, it was most confidently asserted that high duties on imported articles would produce smuggling and that great demoralization would thence ensue. This objection has played a distinguished part from the organization of the government to the present time, whenever there was a question of raising the duties, even in early times, when they were generally but five, or seven and a half, or ten per cent. It has repeatedly aided most powerfully to defeat the applications of the manufacturers, and at various periods consigned immoderate numbers of them to bankruptcy. It therefore demands a severe scrutiny.

The points to be attended to in this discussion are, to ascertain what the duties proposed in Mr. Baldwin's tariff really were—to compare them with existing duties—and then to draw a fair inference.

The ad-valorem duties proposed by the new tariff, were at 20, 25, 30, 35, and 40 per cent. I annex the principal articles.

At twenty per cent.

Gauzes	Pictures and prints.
Looking glasses	Gold leaf, &c.

At twenty-five per cent.

Fire and side arms	Copper, manufactures of
Brass, iron, or steel locks, hinges, anvils and vices	Duck and hemp cloth
Brass, other manufactures of	All articles of which iron, brass or steel is the chief value
Buckles	Linens, plain, white or printed
Cards, wool and cotton	Sail cloth, &c.

At thirty per cent.

Manufactures of India silk, &c.

At thirty-three per cent.

All fine cotton goods, other Woollen manufactures, &c.
than India

At thirty-five per cent.

Coaches	Leather, tanned, and manufac-
Earthen and stone ware	tures of
Cut glass	Marble and stone tables
Gold plated ware	Millinery ready made
Bonnets and caps for women	Printed books
Silver plated ware	Saddles, bridles, &c.

At forty per cent.

India cottons	Hats of every kind
Clothing ready made	Nankeens.

These are the chief of the ad-valorem duties proposed by this tremendous tariff, which from their exorbitance were to demoralize our citizens, by the introduction of smuggling, and which in consequence excited such an outcry throughout the nation!

Now, I presume it will be admitted by every man of candour, if various duties as high as those above stated have existed since the commencement of the government, without any dread of smuggling, or demoralization, that the objection was wholly destitute of foundation, and unworthy of congress—and that this postulatium acquires vast additional force if duties 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, and 100 per cent. higher, are at this hour collected on other articles.

With what propriety these duties were rejected, under the idea of the danger of smuggling, will appear from the following statement of existing duties—

	Per cent.*		Per cent.
Salt	180	Coffee is subject to a	
Pepper	100	duty equal to from	40 to 50
Mace	60	Madeira wine	50 to 60

* The per centage of these duties is taken from "*Old and new tariffs compared*" except those on salt and teas.

Pimento	50	Catalonia	40 to 60
Gin	140	Bordeaux	50
Nantz brandy	90	Sherry and St. Lucar	50 to 60
Marseilles	110	Teneriffe	60
W. I. rum	100	Marseilles	75
Jamaica	75	Sicily	50 to 75
Bohea tea	120†	Fayal	75 to 80
Hyson skin	120†		
Young hyson	120†		

It rarely happens that a plausible reason given for incorrect public conduct, can so ill stand the test of examination as this tremendous spectre of smuggling and its concomitant, demoralization. It will seem in future times utterly improbable, if not impossible, that general credence could have been given in the nineteenth century to the idea that if duties of twenty-five per cent. were imposed on manufactures of iron, brass, steel, copper, lead and tin—thirty-three per cent. on chintzes and broad cloths—thirty-five per cent. on pottery, earthen, and stone ware, they would demoralize a country in which duties of 120 per cent. were intrepidly imposed on teas—110 per cent. on West India rum—140 per cent. on gin—180 per cent. on salt, and other exorbitant duties on various articles, without the least apprehension of smuggling or demoralization.

It is pretended that the articles subject to such high duties, are not easily smuggled—whereas cotton and woollen goods can be readily introduced clandestinely—and that teas being usually imported in large vessels, the evasion of the revenue laws with respect to them, is very difficult. But this will not stand the test of examination. Cannot teas be introduced into the W. Indies, and from thence or from Europe, imported clandestinely, as easily as cottons or woollens? Is

† The bohea tea, imported into Philadelphia, in the Phoenix, Nov. 1820, cost 10 and 11 cents. The duty is 12 cents. This is exactly 120 per cent. on the low priced. Hyson skin cost 22 to 23 cents—young hyson 30 to 32 cents. The duty on the former is 28 cents, and on the latter 40. These duties are above 120.

not wine as easily smuggled as manufactures of iron, steel, copper and brass? And is there any article more difficult to smuggle than pottery, on which the duty is only twenty per cent?†

The immense importations of, and revenue received from, tea and coffee for the last six years, notwithstanding the exorbitant duty on the former of 100 to 120 per cent., is full proof that those who have assigned the danger of smuggling as a reason against raising the duties on cottons and woollens to 33 per cent. and on manufactures of steel, iron, brass, copper, tin and lead, to twenty-five per cent. were either themselves deceived, or deceived the world.

TEAS.

	Imported.	Consumed.	Duty paid.
1815,	3,075,430 lbs.	2,172,940 lbs.	\$ 950,209
1816,	7,076,346	3,864,604	1,274,176
1817,	*	4,586,153	1,484,549
1818,	6,349,133	4,842,963	1,531,749
1819,	7,182,084	5,480,884	1,737,450
1820,	*	4,821,447	1,568,414
	lbs. 23,682,993	lbs. 25,768,991	\$8,546,547

† There is no manufacture whatever, the destruction of which reflects more discredit on our government, than pottery—because there was none more easily fostered to maturity—and none, of which the raw material is of less value. Every dollar received for it would be clear gain to the country—and the danger of smuggling and demoralization, the widely-extended cloak, under which so many other manufactures were consigned to ruin, was here wholly out of the question. Had the duty, instead of twenty per cent. been one hundred or one hundred and forty, as on tea and geneva, there would not have been a crate of it smuggled into the country. Its ruin is, therefore, one among the most conspicuous blots on the escutcheon of the Congress of 1816; which body will descend to posterity with the reputation of having done this nation more lasting injury than was effected by hostile armies. To this Congress, and its tariff, are justly due nineteen-twentieths of the distress experienced in the United States for the last five years.

* These blanks I have not been able to fill up.

COFFEE

	Imported.	Consumed.	Duty paid.
1815,	25,976,118 lbs.	14,233,319 lbs.	\$1,423,331
1816,	31,318,054	17,809,018	1,100,686
1817,	*	21,900,104	1,090,034
1818,	28,993,565	19,199,403	959,970
1819,	23,196,430	20,825,869	1,041,293
1820,	*	13,221,857	664,592
	lbs. 109,484,167	lbs. 107,189,570	\$6,189,906

But it is really a waste of time to encounter this objection. The increase of duty, proposed by Mr. Baldwin's tariff, would only average about ten per cent. on all the important manufactures—and in a country, where so many articles are tarified at from 50 to 140 per cent., the objection is as complete a case of "straining at gnats and swallowing camels," as the world has ever witnessed.



CHAPTER VIII.

*Another objection to the protection of manufactures.
Extortion. Its impertinence and inconsistency.*

I have already touched incidentally on the calumnious accusation of extortion, so vociferously and destructively brought forward against the manufacturers in 1816—a calumny against which thousands whose fathers' hopes, fortunes, and happiness, were thereby blighted and blasted, will have cause to vent maledictions, when the framers of the tariff have sunk into the grave.

With what has been stated, I might close the subject. But from the important and deleterious conse-

* I have not been able to fill up these blanks.

quences which have flowed from this calumny, it demands some further notice.

In order to show with what peculiar propriety this accusation was brought forward—how very pure and immaculate from all charge of “*extortion*,” were the hands of the farmers and planters, by whom this allegation was re-echoed till the “welkin rang” with the sound, I submit to the reader the prices at which the great staples of the country were sold at different periods, which will prove that it was just as appropriate an accusation as if the Gracchi, or Cataline, had cited Scipio or Cicero to the tribunal of the public, for sowing sedition, and plotting revolutions.*

FLOUR.

In the year 1789, the average price of flour throughout the United States, was, per barrel,	\$ 4
In 1790, in consequence of a demand in Europe, it rose to	6
It rose subsequently, in five or six years, to 7, 8, 9, and	10
In 1804 it rose to	11†
During certain portions of the following years, it sold in our sea ports for 14 dollars. But it fell subsequently to seven, and again rose, in 1815, to	8‡
In 1816, it rose to	10‡
In 1817, to	12‡

COTTON.

Cotton in 1814, was per lb.	cents, 13§
in 1815, it rose to	20§
in 1816, to	27§
which price it maintained nearly through the whole of the year 1817.	

* “*Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?*”—*Juvenal*.

† Grotjan.

‡ Pitkin's Tables, page 112.

§ Idem, p. 133.

TOBACCO.

Tobacco in 1814, averaged—per hhd.	§ 74
It rose in 1815, to	96
And in 1816, to the very extravagant price of	185

What warranted these extraordinary advances of price? Was any superior degree of labour or capital required for the cultivation? The man would deserve to be hooted out of society as an impostor, who would dare to make use of such a sorry pretence. What was it then? Why merely the increased demand. Was this an adequate reason? Was it righteous, just and proper? Surely it was. The practice of the whole world, in all ages, has sanctioned it. Its rectitude or fairness has never been called in question.

But suppose for a moment, that it is extortion; has the farmer or planter a patent right to “*extort*” on the manufacturer, and is the latter precluded from indemnifying himself by returning the favour? Is he obliged to submit, without complaint or remonstrance, to pay one or two hundred per cent. advance for flour, or cotton, or tobacco, and, if he make a fifth part of the advance on his articles, to be afterwards arraigned as a criminal, in a court, where the same men are accusers, judges, and jury, and where he is not allowed to utter a word in his defence—but must submit in silence, to vituperation and condemnation, as a lamb led to the slaughter? Does it not require a most extraordinary degree of inconsistency for a man who doubles or trebles the price of his produce, to vilify and abuse his neighbours for an advance of forty or fifty per cent., were this procedure adopted on the mere ground of increased demand, even if the raw materials had remained at the old prices, instead of being enhanced two or three hundred per cent., and had they not been obliged to make such immense in-

vestments in those magnificent buildings and complicated machinery, whose desolate and forlorn state in 1817, 1818, and 1819, shed indelible discredit on the government of the country? There is nothing much more barefaced in the motley annals of human perversity and inconsistency, than this monstrous charge of extortion.*

CHAPTER IX.

Other objections to the tariff. Destruction of commerce and the revenue.

That the new tariff would destroy commerce, was asserted in a variety of memorials; in Mr. Cambreleng's Examination of the New Tariff; and in the debates of congress, in as broad and unqualified a way as if the bill had contained some provisions altogether prohibiting importation.

* So much error has prevailed on this point—and so pernicious have been the consequences of this error—that it cannot be too fully discussed. A further note on it may therefore be pardoned. I will suppose flour at six dollars per barrel—tobacco at eighty dollars per hogshead—cotton at sixteen cents, and wool at seventy-five cents per pound—and that some of the events in Europe, on which, unfortunately, our policy suspends the decision of our distress or prosperity, cause all these articles to rise to double price. If, even at the moment when this rise of price takes place, a farmer or planter be required to pay, not double price—but an advance of ten or twenty per cent. on hats, shoes, saddles, cottons or woollens, which advance is predicated on the rise of the productions of the earth, he will immediately exclaim against “extortion”—“extortion,” closing his eyes to the “extortion,” if “extortion” it must be styled, of which he has been guilty himself perhaps the day before. Say what we will of the “dignity of human nature,” man is a wretched animal.

“To prevent the importation of manufactures would, of course, deprive the revenue of the impost now derived from them: and an equal sum must, therefore, in order to support the necessary expenses of government, be raised by some other direct or indirect tax on the people.”—*Report of the committee of merchants and others, of Boston, on the tariff.*

“It is now proposed to us to adopt the system long since practiced by the British government, viz. to prohibit importations, in order to protect our own manufactures,” &c.—*Examination of the Tariff*, page 7.

“What could gratify England more than to see us retire from the ocean!!! voluntarily abandon all intercourse with other nations!!! and, centering ourselves at home, commence a taxing, manufacturing war against her? To see us call home our ships, throw our arms into the sea, and adopt the very system which she feels in every limb?” *Idem*, p. 104.

“If our laws prohibit importations, the farmer must necessarily carry his produce where he can exchange it for the articles he wants, with the domestic manufacturer.”—*Idem*, p. 112.

“If we expect to sell every thing, and buy nothing, we deal too much in visions for the trade of this world.”—*Idem*, p. 121.

“When foreign commerce shall be extinguished—and man shall be taxed here as elsewhere “in all the joints and articulations of his members, from the top of his head to the sole of his foot” in all the pains, as well as all the enjoyments of life; when the mouths of our rivers shall be barricaded by guarda costas, and their shores lined by armies of douaniers; when with the infinite division of labour, we have acquired the imbecility and misery of the population of other countries similarly situated, then, dearly as we love the land, we too shall be ready to emigrate to Angostura, to the mouth of the Columbia, to Kamtschatka, or Terra del Fuego, or wherever our freedom shall have fled; for “where she dwells, there is our country.”*
Editors National Intelligencer, Jan. 29, 1822.

Making all due allowance for the delusion which party feeling and strong passions create, it is really

* To those, who, with Messrs. Gales and Seaton, are tormented with the apprehension of being driven by the tariff to Terra

difficult to conceive that gentlemen of a respectable grade of talent could believe that this measure, so much deprecated, could produce half or even the tenth part of the ills they state. But although such a credence is extraordinary, it is not impossible. It shall therefore be presumed to exist.

In order to allay the public fears on this subject, it is proper to give the subject a very extensive consideration.

Our importations have been, as already stated, gradually decreasing for two or three years, not from any increase of duties, which have remained stationary, but from the general impoverishment of the country.

In order to ascertain what injury, if any, the proposed tariff would inflict on our commerce, it is necessary to ascertain what that commerce is. I there-

del Fuego, or Kamtschatka, it may afford some slender consolation to reflect how much the results of great public measures generally differ from the consequences anticipated from them while they are in embryo. To pass over the anticipations of the opposers of the federal constitution, and various other great measures in our country, the Bank of England affords such a happy illustration of this idea, that I cannot resist the temptation of laying it before the public.

“ By some it was contended that *it was impossible to erect a bank in any country where the government was not republican*; “ and if once established in England, that we ran the utmost “ hazard of being made subject to a commonwealth. Others “ were convinced that the effect would be *to render the king absolute*; to whom, it was said, the monied interest would naturally adhere for encouragement and protection. Some undertook to prove that *it would enhance the price of land, and utterly discourage, if not ruin, trade*; whilst others asserted, “ that the bank would prove so easy, profitable, and secure, for “ payments and receipts, that *all the money in the nation would naturally run into trade, and none would remain either to purchase or to improve any landed property in the kingdom*; but it “ was prophesied at the time that the advantage of such an undertaking, like all other great things in trade, would be best understood from experience. And the time,” it was said, “ would “ come, when these conceived *hobgoblins, frightful monsters, and horrid spectres*, with which some are possessed about it, “ should vanish and be no more.”—*Sinclair's History of the Revenue of the British Empire, Vol. III. p. 7.*

fore annex a statement of the amount of our imports, subject to ad valorem duties—and of the whole amount and kinds of the various duties received into the treasury for six years.

	A Dollars.	B Dollars.	C Dollars.	D Dollars.	E Dollars.
1815,	85,224,110	22,469,766	11,151,212	1,569,405	35,190,384
1816,	68,367,075	16,540,865	8,928,885	1,803,851	27,273,601
1817,	41,816,141	8,593,459	8,937,052	1,161,319	17,691,371
1818,	53,661,504	11,947,260	8,503,291	1,591,701	22,042,172
1819,	31,885,467	8,076,161	8,617,117	1,014,621	17,707,900
1820,	22,128,487	4,420,959	7,370,750	1,146,800	12,938,510

EXPLANATION.

A—Amount of imports subject to ad valorem duties.

B—Amount of ad valorem duties.

C—Duties received on wines, spirits, molasses, sugar, salt, teas, and coffee.

D—Amount received on other articles, subject to specific duties, partly manufactures—partly spices, cocoa, fruits, indigo, hemp, and fish.

E—The total amount of duties received.

This is an instructive exhibit—and holds out some strong lessons to statesmen. It is a complete reversal of Pharaoh's dream, in which the "ill favoured kine" ate up the fat ones. Here the fat years of importation and revenue have eaten up, or at least immensely impoverished their successors.

The tariff was intended almost altogether for the protection of manufactures. When its provisions were directed towards wine, teas, coffee, spices, &c. it was merely to supply any deficiency of revenue which might possibly arise in consequence of the operation of its other provisions.

It follows, that in a discussion which regards commerce, we must confine ourselves to its operation on the importation of manufactured articles.

To ascertain the amount of manufactured articles imported into this country in former years, is attended with considerable difficulty. The treasury returns on this point, have been, from the commencement of

our government till the present session of congress, extremely defective. Their looseness and vagueness rendered it impossible for congress to legislate understandingly on our commerce with foreign nations. They were wholly silent as to the kinds and qualities of the articles imported subject to ad valorem duties. There are many articles subject to those duties, which are not manufactures—and there are several manufactures subject to specific duties. All these circumstances greatly embarrass the present investigation.

On a careful review of the subject, I am convinced, and will therefore assume, that the amount of articles not manufactured, subject to ad valorem duties, is equal to that of manufactured articles subject to specific duties.* This greatly simplifies the subject, and cannot be materially wrong.

It appears from the preceding table, page 72, that the amount of goods subject to ad valorem duties, imported in the year 1820, was 22,128,487 Dollars; the duties on which were 4,420,959 Dollars. The additions proposed by the new tariff, averaged, as already stated, about ten per cent. and those proposed to countervail the bounties and drawbacks afforded on their exports by foreign nations, would make probably about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. the aggregate of which would be about \$2,700,000. Can it for a moment be supposed that this would “*prohibit importations*”—oblige us “*to retire from the ocean?---voluntarily abandon all intercourse with other nations*”---or imply that we “*expected to sell every thing, and to buy nothing?*” render it necessary *to flee to Terra del Fuego*---or very materially interfere with commerce? Such hobgoblins, frequently used to bias public opinion, and lead it astray on great national questions, would be a subject of merriment, were it not for the deleterious consequences of which they sow the prolific seed.

* The specific duties in 1820, on cocoa, almonds, raisins, tallow, spices, indigo, hemp, and coals, were above \$30,000 Dollars.

Will it be pretended that the importation of silk or chintz which costs a dollar per yard in Europe, or of broadcloth which costs four dollars, would be prevented by an additional duty of ten, twenty, or forty cents per yard? The high rate of exchange for some months has operated to produce as great an advance on imported goods as the new tariff would have done---and there cannot be found a man of character in the country who will venture to assert that it can or will destroy commerce, or very materially check importation.

Of the manufactured articles which we import, there are many which cannot for a long time to come be produced here---and others that are not produced in sufficient quantities. With these the tariff would not interfere.

It is, moreover, highly probable, that the amount of teas, coffee, spices, wines, &c. imported, forms nearly two fifths of all the importations of the country. The importation of these articles would likewise remain unaffected by the tariff. What then becomes of those doleful lamentations, those Jeremiads on the approaching "destruction of commerce"---and "prohibitions of importation?" They vanish "like the baseless fabric of a vision," into "thin air."

There is one more source of consolation for the merchants---and of indemnification for commerce, in the protection of manufactures. The importation of the raw materials they require must employ a considerable amount of tonnage, and afford very handsome profits. Of wool, alone, there were imported into this city during the year 1821, 221,434 lbs.---into Boston probably 250,000 lbs.---and half the latter amount elsewhere---and of hemp into the United States during the year 1820, 93,707 cwt. and in 1821, 86,192, all intended for and used in manufactures.

That Mr. Baldwin's tariff would destroy the revenue, and entail on the nation a necessity for direct taxes, and an excise, with its usual concomitant,

an army of excise officers, was among the strongest objections to it, and was asserted with as much confidence, and received with as implicit faith, as any demonstration in Euclid. Among the warmest opposers of the new system, were those who most firmly held this doctrine—and it is far from improbable that its defeat was greatly owing to an apprehension of these consequences.

It was replied, and reiterated—but in vain—for it is in vain to reason with clamour and prejudice—that whatever diminution of revenue might arise from any supposable decrease of importation, would be abundantly compensated by the enhanced duty on the merchandize which would be imported.

This objection is now open to investigation.

In the event of the enactment of Mr. Baldwin's tariff, the importation of merchandize affected by it would either remain stationary or diminish. An increase is not within probability.

It remains to ascertain the operation in either case.

Suppose, then, the amount of goods heretofore imported at 25 per cent. to have been 20,000,000 of dollars—the duties to be raised to 33 1-3—and in consequence the importation to be diminished to 15,000,000.

20,000,000 of dollars at 25 per cent. yielded a revenue of \$5,000,000.

15,000,000 of dollars at 33 1-3, would yield the same sum precisely, \$5,000,000.

Suppose the diminution to be only 2,500,000 dollars—Then 17,500,000 dollars at 33 1-3 per cent. would yield 5,833,333 of dollars—or finally, suppose, which, by the way, is not probable, that the importations remain the same as formerly—then \$20,000,000 at 33 1-3, would yield \$6,666,666.

Thus, in the event of so great a reduction of these importations as one fourth, which is not to be supposed for a moment, the revenue would suffer no diminution—and in either of the other cases it would gain considerably.

These calculations notwithstanding, the alarm spread abroad, and was irresistible—pamphlets, memorials, petitions, newspaper essays and paragraphs gave it universal currency. And thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands of persons throughout the United States, who never saw an item of the tariff, arrayed themselves in hostility against it, from a dread of the total destruction of the revenue.

But a new advocate has stepped forward in defence of the system as far as the revenue is concerned—and placed the subject in such a point of light as to overthrow all the objections of this character. The secretary of the treasury advises the adoption of some of the chief items of Mr. Baldwin's tariff, not with a view to the protection of manufactures, except incidentally --nor certainly to impair the revenue, the protection and improvement of which form the leading duties of his office—but *with a view of supplying the great deficiencies that have arisen in our finances!*

He states that in a certain event, the public expenditure authorized by law, may exceed the public revenue. Of the remedies he proposes in this case, the first is--“An increase of the public revenue by an “addition to the existing impositions”---his view is thus developed:

“A general revision and correction of the duties imposed on foreign merchandize, seem to be required. Many “of the articles which pay but fifteen per cent. ad valorem, “*ought, in justice as well as policy, to be placed at twenty-five per cent.* which is the duty paid upon the principal “articles of woollen and cotton manufactures. The same “observation applies to some of the articles which pay but “twenty per cent. ad valorem. A correction of the existing duties, *with a view to the increase of the public revenue,* “*could hardly fail to accomplish that object to the amount of* “*one million of dollars annually.* It is highly probable, however, that an increase of duty on some of those articles “*might eventually* cause a reduction of the revenue. But “this can only take place when similar articles are manufactured in the country. In that event, domestic manu-

“factures will have been fostered; and *the general ability of the community to contribute to the public exigencies, will have been proportionably increased.*”

To the last sentence of this extract most particular attention is due. It contains in few words the essence of all the arguments in favour of protecting duties. They “*increase the general ability of the community to contribute to the public exigencies.*” Can any other argument be necessary for men fit or worthy to have committed to their care the destiny of a great and mighty nation? What an immense weight of responsibility are they under, on whom this important duty is devolved—and what a high degree of criminality is involved in its neglect, should it not be performed!

The last of the objections to the new tariff which I shall notice, is predicated on its being in hostility to the spirit of liberality which is spreading among the nations of Europe, who have become humble copyists of the policy of the United States, struck with admiration of its beneficial effects!

“Is it not a little remarkable that these attempts are not only repugnant to those maxims of free trade which the United States have hitherto so forcibly and perseveringly contended for, as the sure foundation of national prosperity; but they are pressed upon us at a moment when the statesmen of the old world, *in admiration of the success of our policy, are relaxing the rigour of their own systems*, and yielding themselves to the rational doctrine, that national wealth is best promoted by *a free interchange of commodities, upon principles of perfect reciprocity.*”

Such, courteous reader, is the language of the celebrated Salem memorial, admirably calculated to tickle the national vanity.

It is truly astonishing that gentlemen of pre-eminent talents and high standing in society, so frequently commit themselves by the assumption of facts which will not stand the test of examination. The

assertions above stated are wholly unfounded. There is no evidence that the nations of Europe have copied our policy, or manifested any disposition to do so. They know little about it. The policy of England, France, Spain and Portugal is well known. Their custom house codes abound with restrictions, prohibitions, and prohibitory duties. No change has taken place in the system of Great Britain. Of that of France, I have given a slight sketch. Those of Spain and Portugal are of very recent date, and still more rigorous. Throughout the rest of the continent no material alteration has taken place, except in Russia and Holland.

Of the latter kingdom, I trust enough has been stated in Chapter III. to satisfy the world, that if she has followed our example, it has been like Pandora's Box to her---and has, by devoting one ninth part of her population to mendicity, entailed on her distress and wretchedness, which will hold her out as a beacon to other nations, to beware how they follow the *ignis fatuus* of buying cheap goods abroad.

On the subject of Russia, I am not possessed of as copious details as the argument would require; but there is enough known to enable us to discover that her case bears no small analogy to that of Holland.

The tariff of Russia, enacted in 1816, contained an uncommonly numerous list of prohibited articles*—and the duties on importations were very considerable. About the close of the year 1819, a fatal alteration was made, whereby many of the duties were reduced, and the list of prohibitions greatly diminished. The ports were immediately inundated with foreign goods beyond the value of the exports---the national industry was paralised---the specie was drawn away to pay the enormous balance---and a very considerable degree of impoverishment succeeded.

* See the Addresses of the Philadelphia Society for promoting National Industry, No. III.

	Rubles.	Dollars.
The importations into Petersburgh in 1820, amounted to	190,388,897	equal to \$35,255,735
The exports for the same period,	105,095,280	19,462,090
Balance,	85,293,617	\$15,793,645

The balance of trade (I beg Mr. Cambreleng's pardon for the introduction of these obnoxious words) previous to this alteration, was greatly in favour of Russia. It has since inclined as much the other way. I have laboured, but in vain, to procure from the Russian agents in this country more full details than the above. But these few facts, I hope, are sufficient to establish the important position, that the actual policy of Russia, like that of Holland, whether borrowed from us, or of their own invention, holds out little to copy, but much to avoid.



CHAPTER X.

Identity of interests between the different portions of the union. Pernicious operation of the existing policy, on the grain-growing states. Their interests sacrificed to the supposed interests of the cotton and tobacco planting states. Protection of commerce. Relative proportion of the agricultural, manufacturing and commercial portions of our citizens.

Among the strong inducements to a ratification of the federal constitution, was the idea of an identity of interests between the different sections of the country, and the different classes, agricultural, manufacturing and commercial. This identity is delightful to contemplate, and actually exists. But that it is impaired, if not in some respects done away, by a mistaken

policy, in the practical operations of our government, is beyond a doubt. It is a melancholy truth, that the solid, substantial interests of the grain-growing, are sacrificed to remote and contingent interests of the cotton and tobacco-planting states.

This very strong declaration requires to be supported by clear proofs. If unfounded, it is deserving of unqualified censure. But if otherwise, it behoves the constituted authorities to ponder well on the subject, and "correct the procedure."

That the different component parts of a federative association ought to make common cause---and each to aid in repelling injuries received by the others, cannot admit of a doubt. This is one of the principal objects for which confederations are organized.

Let us see how far this duty is performed.

There are three great interests in the United States, as in most other countries---the agricultural to produce---the manufacturing to mould and fashion---and the commercial to transport the surplus productions of both.

The agricultural interest in this country, may be subdivided into the raisers of grain---of cotton---of tobacco---and of sugar.

The grand staple of the middle states, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, which, with such portions of the western states as are engaged in the same culture, comprize two fifths of the whole population of the union, is prohibited in Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal. And every principle of justice and propriety, calls aloud for some retaliatory measures on the part of the union, in order to relieve those states from the masses of distress and wretchedness resulting from the reduction of prices, the necessary consequence of the glutted markets produced by that prohibition. But as it were to make a mockery of the boasted identity, and to evince to the world a direct hostility, of interest, there has not been a single step taken to secure redress---not by

prohibition, which is unnecessary, but even by enhancement of duties. And it is candidly avowed, that this measure, of such imperious duty, is not adopted, lest prohibitions may take place of the southern staples. This, in plain English, means, that lest cotton, rice, and tobacco, should at some future day be prohibited or restricted in Europe, the absolute prohibition of the staple of the middle states is to pass unnoticed and unredressed.

Thus the most severe evil that can be inflicted on one great portion of the nation is to be wholly disregarded, lest a similar evil, of which there is little danger, should be inflicted on another. This is precisely the same case as if two men enter into a solemn league and covenant for mutual defence, on terms of perfect reciprocity, and one allows the other to be plundered, lest by some remote contingency he may be plundered himself. Whereas by making common cause, they would both triumph over the menaced danger.

This unfriendly and antifederal doctrine is clearly and explicitly laid down in the memorial agreed upon by the citizens of Charleston, S. C. against the proposed increase of the tariff, so lately as Sept. 12, 1820.

"If we should prohibit in this country the introduction of the manufactures of Great Britain, or impose on them duties amounting to a prohibition, have we no reason to apprehend that she may on her part prohibit totally the introduction into her ports of our cotton, our rice, and our tobacco, and turn to other quarters for the supply she may require?"

On this paragraph, there is one observation loudly called for. It is the extremely disingenuous assumption of a prohibition or an imposition of duties amounting to prohibition of British manufactures, in order to defeat the application for a very moderate increase of duties. It is truly lamentable to see such means employed in any cause---and it is not an unfair assumption that the cause must be bad, or the advocate *mediocre*, when they are pressed into the service. The

principal articles imported from Great Britain are woollens, cottons, and linens. The two first were proposed to be rated at 33 1-3 per cent.---and the last at 25. Yet these duties are assumed as prohibitions or amounting to prohibitions !

Let us suppose for a moment, that any foreign nation had absolutely prohibited the importation of cotton, rice and tobacco—would not the states which mainly depend on the sale of those staples for the great mass of the luxuries, and comforts, and even of the necessaries of life, vociferously demand some retaliatory measures? Would they not be justified in it? And if they were refused, would not one of the most important ends of the social compact be defeated? Would they not deem it illiberal, partial, and unjust, to be obliged to receive, which is equivalent to being prevented from restricting, the merchandize of such nations, as would not accept in return those articles in which alone they could make payment? And suppose the representatives of the grain-growing states were obstinately to refuse to comply with these requests, or even to read them, because their own staple was freely received, would not the welkin ring with their complaints? Should we not have a repetition of those threats of separation which were vociferated so loudly during the discussion of the Missouri question?

This is the argumentum ad hominem. Let it be duly weighed.

Now, I ask, in the name of common sense and common justice, how can these gentlemen reconcile to themselves, to refuse that protection to the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, &c. the refusal of which to themselves they would regard as so unjust and so improper? These states are obliged to receive fine cotton and all kinds of woollen goods at 25, linens and silks at 15, and girandoles, chandeliers, china, earthen ware, and pottery, at 20 per cent. from Great Britain and France; yet bread-

stuffs, almost the only articles in which they can make payment, are prohibited in the most unqualified way. Not one pound will be received to feed the workmen, whose manufactures we consume—whereas, were manufactures properly encouraged here, those bread-stuffs, thus excluded, would be consumed at home, by manufacturers, who would, moreover, furnish an invaluable market for our raw materials.

Again. Let us consider the case of the merchants, who are not a thirtieth part of the population of the United States. For the least aggression made on their rights, real or fancied, they immediately appeal for redress to congress—and every consequence is dared to effect their object. No counter petition has ever been presented to prevent a compliance—nor have they ever experienced the least difficulty in the accomplishment of their wishes.

We support a navy in the Mediterranean, at an enormous expense, to protect our commerce in that quarter; although it is very confidently asserted that the value of that trade is not equal to one-half the expense. But be that as it may, there has been no invidious effort on the part of the manufacturers, or any other of our citizens, to prevent a continuance of this expensive system.

At the instance of the merchants, an abortive attempt has been made to coerce the British nation into an abandonment of their navigation act, to which they are almost as much attached, as we to our constitution. In the effort to secure the carriage of our produce to the West Indies, we have actually and perniciously sacrificed the sale of the produce itself. It is not exactly, but nearly, similar to the case of a merchant refusing to supply his customers with goods, unless they use his wagons in the conveyance of them, although they have wagons of their own.

We are, moreover, now about to incur an enormous expense, and the imminent risk of a collision with the colossal power of Russia, in order to estab-

lish a commerce at the mouth of the Columbia river—a commerce, the amount of which for years will not probably equal the value of the manufactures produced at Waltham. Yet there are no counter petitions, nor memorials, nor remonstrances---no opposition of any kind whatever.

The statute book is full of acts made for the protection of the merchants, framed at their instance, with scarcely a word of opposition from the rest of the union. And yet, whenever an attempt is made to afford any effectual relief to their manufacturing fellow-citizens, they excite a loud clamour—call meetings—circulate counter petitions—and leave nothing unattempted to prevent success.

That the whole of these proceedings militate against the identity of interest of the different classes of our citizens, and prove that it is not properly understood, and that a decided and powerful hostility exists, will admit of no doubt. They do not display a spark of that fraternal spirit which should exist among members of the same confederacy.

In order to be able duly to appreciate the impropriety of the treatment of the manufacturers, and of the utter neglect of their various memorials, it may be proper to cast a glance on the relative numbers of the persons devoted to agriculture, manufactures and commerce in the eleven states, from Maine to Maryland inclusive, wherein manufactures are established on a respectable scale.

	Agricult.	Commerce.	Manufac	Total.	Gr. total.
*Maine	55,031	4,297	7,643	66,971	298,335
New Hampshire	52,384	1,068	8,699	62,151	244,161
Massachusetts	63,460	13,301	33,464	110,225	523,287
Connecticut	50,518	3,581	17,541	71,640	275,248
Vermont	50,951	776	8,484	60,211	235,764
Rhode Island	12,559	1,162	6,091	18,812	83,059
New York	247,648	9,113	60,038	306,799	1,372,812
New Jersey	40,812	1,830	15,941	58,583	277,575
Pennsylvania	140,801	7,083	60,215	208,099	1,049,398
Delaware	13,259	538	2,821	16,613	72,749
Maryland	79,135	4,771	18,640	102,546	407,550
	806,558	47,515	239,577	1,082,650	4,839,738

Total population of these eleven states,	4,839,738
Deduct people of colour,	271,514

White population,	4,468,224
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Proportions per cent.

Agriculturists,	74
Citizens devoted to commerce,	4
Citizens devoted to manufactures	22
	100

Thus in nine of the original thirteen states, eleven of the existing confederacy, embracing much more than half the white, and very nearly half of the entire population of the union, it appears that the manufacturers are five times as numerous as the citizens engaged in commerce, foreign and domestic, and nearly one third as numerous as the citizens devoted to agriculture. They form above a sixth part of the white, and a seventh part of the entire population of the nation.

In the great commercial state of Massachusetts, the manufacturers are nearly one-third of the whole population---almost three times as numerous as the citi-

* This table requires some little explanation. The three first columns and the fifth are extracted from the census without variation. The fourth column contains the aggregate of the first three. The fifth contains the grand total of the population of those eleven states.

zens devoted to commerce---and more than half of the number of those devoted to agriculture. In Pennsylvania they are above eight, in New-York nearly seven, and in Rhode-Island and Connecticut, above five times as numerous as the mercantile class.

Yet this important part of our citizens, entitled from their numbers, their usefulness, and the uniformity of their zeal in the support of the government, to every degree of attention and respect---and to a fair share of the representation—are almost wholly unrepresented, and their applications frequently treated with the most contumelious neglect, congress never condescending to read them, and often not reporting on them.

During the session of 1816, in which the tariff was enacted, when the manufacturers were supplicating to be rescued from the destruction which impended over them, and which finally swallowed so many of them up, a certain member, whose lordly views, and contempt of the “ignobile vulgus,” would have secured him an undisputed admission into the Venetian senate, fastidiously exclaimed, that “he had been so bored with manufactures and manufacturers,” that he should never bear to hear either word pronounced again! What chance of humanity or justice the poor Helots have from representatives of such a character, it is easy to ascertain.

There is one very simple mode in which a remedy may be applied to the revolting, withering, and often most cruel neglect so uniformly experienced by the manufacturers, particularly during those awful sufferings in 1816, 17, 18, 19, and 20, which would have excited the pity, and commanded the effectual interference of the most despotic governments of Europe.* The manufacturers, as appears from the pre-

* The world has never witnessed a more shocking or unfeeling disregard of public distress, or more contemptuous neglect of the voice of constituents, than was displayed in 1816—17, by the fourteenth Congress, who not only did not deign to hear their memorials, but never reported on the major part of them.

ceding table, are sufficiently numerous in the middle and eastern states, in many of the districts, particularly in the populous towns, to carry the elections as they please, and in all to controul them, in cases of contested elections, provided they act in unison. Let them henceforward, therefore, never on any account vote for any man, whatever his pretensions may be, who is unfriendly, or not decidedly favourable to manufactures.* No merchant would vote for a person unfriendly to commerce—nor farmer for one unfriendly to agriculture. Yet numbers of the persons most hostile to the protection of manufacturers, have, at all times since the establishment of the government, owed their seats to the voters of this class. Let this in future be the cardinal point—the shibboleth. They will then

* I have hesitated much whether I should venture to add a note to this paragraph or not. And I now do it almost with fear and trembling. It may be supposed, and, in order to discredit what I here advise, it will probably be asserted, that I am induced to recommend this measure with a view to popularity and personal aggrandizement. Men's motives ought not, although they frequently do, affect the influence of their writings: and therefore, even had I this object in view, it would neither add to, nor diminish, the force of what I have written. However, to remove all doubt on this subject, I distinctly state, that I never shall, on any account whatever, allow myself to be put up as a candidate, nor shall I ever accept any public office.† The little that remains of life, shall be devoted to literary pursuits. I can employ my time more to the advantage of the public, but at all events more to my own personal satisfaction, than in any public station whatever. I have three or four times refused to allow myself to be nominated for the state legislature or congress, when the ascendancy of the party to which I belong would have insured me success, had my ambition led me to court the elevation. I fondly hope that the motive which has induced, will excuse, this trespass on the public attention, for which I tender a respectful apology. Let me be permitted to add, that I never was interested in any modification of the tariff, except as it affected the general welfare of the country, wherein of course my prosperity was involved. The duty on books, although only 15 per cent. has been sufficient protection.

† I except the office of director of the Bank of Pennsylvania, the duties of which, so long as the senate of the state honour me with their confidence, I shall continue to discharge.

have some influence in the body whom they contribute to elect and pay.

I shall conclude this chapter with one observation, which will appear strange to the reader, and incompatible, although perfectly in unison, with what I have already written on these subjects. It is fortunate not only for the manufacturers—but for the nation—that Mr. Baldwin's tariff was rejected in 1819: for had it been adopted, the reduction of the importations of 1820 and 1821—and the consequent diminution of the revenue, would have been most indubitably ascribed to it. The old hue and cry would have been raised, and re-echoed from state to state, and advantage would be taken of the excitement thereby created, to reduce the duties probably even below the standard of 1816. Indeed one printer to the southward, who dictates on these subjects in a very lordly style, attempted to persuade the nation, that the reduction of importations arose from the apprehension of Mr. Baldwin's tariff being enacted! Some feeble attempts were made elsewhere, to give this preposterous idea general currency. But cullible as mankind generally are, and much as it flattered the prejudices of some of our citizens, it was too gross to gain credence—and soon sunk into merited oblivion. Still the abortive attempt to impress the public mind with such an opinion, under circumstances so disadvantageous to it, fully proves what would have been done in the event of the success of Mr. Baldwin's system. To the end of time it could never be exonerated from all the odium of the decay of commerce—the loss of revenue—and the recourse to loans, which the two last years have exhibited to the world, being, it is presumable, among the proofs, according to Mr. Cambreleng, that “*this is the most flourishing country in the world—and that its wealth is increasing in a ratio to its capital more rapidly than that of any other nation!*”---Examination of the new tariff, page 135.

The preceding account of the actual state of this country was promulgated by Mr. C. early in the year 1821, when he had before his eyes the awful scenes of the preceding five years—the existing distress of nearly the whole of the great states of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee—the general stagnation which had but just begun to subside—and almost every feature of our affairs the reverse of the flattering picture thus portrayed !!!

SUMMARY.

Having brought this desultory essay to a close, I shall present to the reader a summary of the points discussed—in order to aid in a correct decision on such a vital subject.

1. That the restrictive system has enriched England to an extent beyond any example in history—conferred on her a degree of strength, power, and influence far exceeding that to which her extent, her population, or her natural advantages would entitle her---and enabled her to support burdens which no nation ever before sustained.

2. That to impute her present distresses to her manufacturing system is as absurd and unjust, as to ascribe the ruin of an extravagant or improvident farmer to the fertility of his land.

3. That the restrictive system has enabled France to emerge from the pressure of the havoc made of her resources by a devouring war of twenty years—military contributions of 100,000,000 of dollars---and the spoliation of exasperated armies for two or three years.

4. That the system of low duties has had a fair trial in Holland, and has produced there a copious harvest of wretchedness. It has drained away her specie;

paralyzed her agriculture and manufactures; impaired her commerce; lowered the value of real estate one-third; impoverished her treasury; and reduced one-ninth part of her population to a state of mendicity.

5. That the first tariff was marked with the same partiality as is discoverable in the present—bulky raw materials, the products of the earth, being charged with duties one hundred per cent. higher than the most elaborated articles made from them.

6. That potatoes, and butter, and rice, are at present subject to the same duty as silks, sattins, books, sealing wax, linens, thread stockings, and all other manufactures of flax.

7. That during the whole progress of the ruin in which so large a portion of the manufactures and manufacturers of the country, were enveloped in 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820, congress looked on with the most withering apathy and indifference.

8. That the manufacturers, being nearly a fourth part of the white population from Maine to Maryland, inclusive, have never had the attention paid them, to which their numbers and their usefulness entitle them.

9. That although the cotton planters are protected by a duty of from 33 to 40 per cent.---the sugar planters by a duty of 100---and the tobacco planters by duties almost prohibitory, they have uniformly united together, with few exceptions, to prevent the manufacturers of iron, steel, brass, copper, tin, lead, and flax, from a protection of 25 per cent.---the manufacturers of chintzes and woollen goods from one of 33 1-3---the manufacturers of coaches, earthen ware, pottery, cut glass, leather, millinery, saddles, bridles, &c. from one of 35---and the manufacturers of hats and ready made clothing from one of 40 per cent.

10. That the operation of the tariff is partial, unjust, and wicked, as it taxes the poor most extravagantly for the necessities of life, while the rich pay light duties on comforts, conveniencies, and even luxuries---thus

bohea tea pays 120 per cent.---muscovado sugar 100
 ---and salt 180---while cashmere and merino shawls,
 superfine broad cloths, chintzes, &c. pay but 25---
 china, girandoles, chandeliers and hardware but 20---
 and bombazets, bombazeens, silks, satins, gauzes,
 damasks, muffs and tippets, pay but 15 per cent.

Thus 800 dollars worth of silks, sattins, fine linens, cambrics, muffs, and tip- pets,	Pay only the same duty viz. 120 dollars, as	100 dollars worth of Bohea tea.
480 dollars worth of Cashmere shawls, super- fine broad cloths, and chintzes,		120 dollars worth of muscovado su- gar.
600 dollars worth of china, fine hardware, and girandoles,		66 dollars worth of salt.

a system of which no country in the world, even the
 most barbarous, in ancient or modern times, can pro-
 duce a parallel.

11. That the merchants during the war having rais-
 ed their merchandize in many cases one hundred per
 cent.---the farmers their flour at different periods dur-
 ing the last 30 years from four dollars to fourteen---
 the cotton planters their staple from 13 to 30 cents per
 lb.---the tobacco planters tobacco in one year from
 \$94 to 185 per hhd. ; and then arraigning, trying, and
 condemning the manufacturers unheard, for extortion,
 because they raised, for instance, superfine woollen
 cloths from eight dollars to thirteen or fourteen (the
 raw material being increased from 75 cents per lb.
 to three and four dollars) is really among the most ex-
 traordinary instances of inconsistency that can be con-
 ceived.

12. That the clamour on the danger of smuggling
 by imposing duties of 25 per cent. on manufactures
 of iron, steel, lead and flax---of 33 per cent. on chint-
 zes and woollens---and 35 per cent. on pottery, china,
 earthen ware, coaches, manufactures of leather, &c.

while so many articles are and have been from the commencement of the government subject to duties from 50 to 180 per cent. is totally irreconcilable with reason or common sense—will not for a moment stand the test of examination---and is unworthy of the legislature of a great nation.

POSTSCRIPT.

MARCH '6, 1822.

SOME years since, when our imports greatly exceeded our exports, and presented a very unfavourable balance of our trade with the world at large, many of our statesmen and politicians wholly scouted the idea of attending to the balance of trade, it being, as they said, so very fallacious, as not to warrant any certain inference as to the prosperity of nations.

Their opinions have recently undergone a very considerable change, in consequence of an apparent excess of our exports over our imports, in the year 1821, as stated in the returns of the secretary of the treasury—the former having been \$64,898,282
And the latter only 62,585,724

Leaving a favourable balance of \$2,502,558

This has been hailed by those citizens with great rejoicing and exultation, as an unerring proof of great and growing prosperity.

The returns of the treasury, from whence these favourable inferences were drawn, were delivered to congress some weeks since—but not printed and published till within a few days. Of course access to them was very limited.

On examination they shed great light on the subject—and remove the dense clouds in which it was enveloped.

It appears that our imports of merchandize amounted to \$54,520,834

Whereas our exports of produce and merchandize, foreign and domestic, amounted to 54,496,413

Balance against us, 24,421

But in addition to these items, there was a very considerable export and import of specie and bullion, viz.

Exported,	\$10,477,969
Imported,	8,064,890

Balance of specie and bullion against us, \$2,413,079

It is probably the first time in the history of political economy, that an excess of the export over the import of specie, has been regarded as a proof of a favourable balance of trade. If it be a correct criterion, Spain and Portugal have had favourable balances for centuries.

There was still a difficulty, not easily accounted for. As our produce and manufactures nearly equalled our imports of merchandize, and we shipped so much more specie than we imported, why have bills of exchange risen to fourteen per cent. ? Of this problem I shall offer an explanation, which must pass for what it is worth.

Of our exports, a large portion is shipped on speculation—and, in consequence of glutted markets, much of it remains at all times on hands, in Europe and the West Indies. The quantity of flour on bond in Great Britain, fluctuates from 50 to 100,000 barrels.

Maury & Latham's Price Current, of August 31, 1821, states that there were then in Liverpool, of

American flour on bond, no less than 60,261 barrels,
Of which the sweet was only 8,000

The sour, 52,000 barrels, was held at 13s. and 13s. 6d. sterling.

Thus in this one article in that single port, there was unsold to the amount of about \$240,000, on which there would accrue a loss of \$100,000.

The accounts from the West India islands and other quarters, received for months past, have generally stated that the markets were overstocked with American produce. No small portion of the flour remaining on hands in the West Indies is sour, and of course greatly depreciated in value.

These items form a considerable drawback on the effective amount of our exports.

There are other circumstances which affect the rate of exchange, besides the amount of exports and imports. Of these I shall enumerate some of the most prominent.

I. The commercial debt due by this country in Europe.

II. The interest due on the government and bank stock owned by foreigners.

III. The income on real estate owned abroad, either by descent or taken in payment of debts.

Of these in order.

I. That the commercial debt, considering the state of this country for some years past, must be very considerable, cannot be doubted. It has been estimated at \$15,000,000. But I shall only suppose \$12,000,000.

II. Under the second head are to be considered several items—

1. The stocks of the government of the United States, held by foreigners, which, on the 30th September, 1821, amounted to \$23,557,097.

[On the 30th September, 1807, the amount stood thus :

Held by the British,	\$17,099,571
by the Dutch,	15,214,536
by other foreigners,	2,257,290
	\$34,571,397]

2. On the 1st of January, 1822, according to a statement published by the Bank of the United States, there were on the books of that institution 28,317 shares owned by foreigners, amounting to \$2,831,700.

3. The amount owned by foreigners in the stocks of the state banks and insurance companies. This is not easily estimated with accuracy. I shall assume, as a very low calculation, \$ 500,000.

III. The third item far exceeds what would be supposed on a superficial view of the subject. From detached information received from authentic sources, I feel satisfied that the proceeds of estates of this description amount annually to far above \$250,000.

It now remains to sum up the amount of these various drains on the United States.

Interest on commercial debt	\$ 720,000
Annual payment of principal, supposed	1,000,000
Interest on government stock	1,413,425
Interest on United States' Bank stock at 4 per cent.	113,260
Interest on stock of state banks and in- surance companies at 6 per cent.	30,000
Proceeds of real estate	250,000
	\$ 3,526,685

The large quantity of our produce constantly on hands abroad; the loss on sour flour and other articles which meet with bad markets; added to the above enormous amount of steady demands on the country, will fully explain the rise of bills of exchange to 14 and even to 20 per cent. notwithstanding the

amount of the export of our produce is nearly equal to that of our imports.

These calculations are necessarily somewhat vague—and some of them may be erroneous. But whatever deductions are made from them, there will remain a sufficient amount to enable us to account for the advance in question.

The preceding facts shed a flood of light on the injurious policy of the United States. I present a bird's eye view of its baleful consequences.

Commercial debt due in Europe, supposed,	\$ 12,000,000
Government stock held there,	23,557,907
United States bank stock,	2,831,700
Stock of state banks and insurance companies, supposed,	500,000
Total,	\$38,889,607

These are the actual mortgages on the United States held by foreign nations, after our enjoyment of the best constitution in the world, for above thirty years. It is doubtful whether Great Britain, enormous as her debt is, owes more to foreigners.

Thus, with natural, moral and political advantages, never exceeded, perhaps never equalled, we are, by an erroneous policy, rendered tributaries to nations burdened with enormous national debts, with grinding tythes and taxes—while our national debt and taxes are insignificant, and we are wholly free from tythes. If any thing could arouse congress from the lethargy in which it is involved, and from the pernicious waste of time, in speeches chiefly delivered to the reporters, and for the newspapers, but almost wholly unheard or disregarded by the members, it would be such a state of things as is here depicted, whereby a great nation is arrested in its career of prosperity, and its energies awfully paralyzed. *Quousque tandem?*

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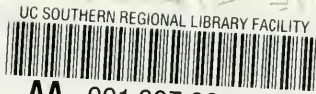
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